

PURITANISM'S ASCETIC PEDIGREE:
CATHOLIC TREATISES AND PROTESTANT 'COUNTERPOYSONS'
IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

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DECLARATION

This thesis was composed by me alone. The work is my own, and has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ODNB University	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , online ed. Oxford Press, 2004.
n.p.	No place given.
n.d.	No publication date given.
SCMDLW Worship.	Bradshaw, Paul L., ed. <i>The New SCM Dictionary of Liturgy and</i> London: SCM, 2002.
SCMDCS Spirituality.	Philip Sheldrake, ed. <i>The New SCM Dictionary of Christian</i> London: SCM, 2005.

ABSTRACT

Some scholars researching the puritans have noted parallels between their approach to spiritual formation and that of the Catholic religious communities of the medieval and early modern periods. Specifically, an ascetic or pietistic orientation, emphasizing the methodical practice of spiritual disciplines such as meditation, has been acknowledged in both groups. Some have suggested that early puritan writers knowingly adopted elements of the Catholic ascetic tradition, but relatively little has been done to prove or disprove this claim. An analysis of popular religious writings circulating in Elizabethan England reveals evidence supporting the notion that similarities between the two traditions were more than coincidental. During the Elizabethan period, several Catholic texts were illegally circulated in England, which taught ascetic devotional methods in a basic format suitable for lay readers. These Catholic ascetic treatises, written by authors such as the Spanish Dominican, Luis de Granada (1505–1588), and the English Jesuit, Robert Persons (1546–1610), were patently unique among the approved religious texts sold in Protestant England. Their originality was underscored by Catholics, in fact, who criticized English Protestants because they had produced nothing similar. However, in 1603, the puritan Richard Rogers (1550/1–1618) published a devotional guide called the *Seven Treatises*, significant features of which are reminiscent of this ascetic genre. Rogers and others portrayed his work as a “counterpoyson” to Catholic books, expressing confidence that it would effectively silence the boasts of Catholic writers who claimed to hold a monopoly on devotional instruction. It appears that Rogers composed much of his *Seven Treatises* in conscious emulation of the Catholic texts whose influence he hoped to suppress. What’s more, it is likely that his work inspired many seventeenth-century puritan writers, whose devotional manuals reflect the same ascetic emphases. Such evidence suggests that the observed similarity between the puritans’ spiritual approach and that of the more ancient ascetic tradition was, in part, a result of their conscious imitation and adaptation of that tradition’s teaching, as it was expressed in these sixteenth-century Catholic ascetic manuals.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: PURITANISM'S SHAPE AND PEDIGREE

From which antecedents did puritan spirituality inherit its distinctive features? This study represents an attempt to move towards a more complete answer to this question. The main claim advanced here is that the Catholic ascetic tradition played an important, if only partial, role in shaping puritan piety. Obviously, some of the constituent pieces of this claim need clarification. How is puritanism being defined? What is subsumed under the Catholic ascetic tradition? And, which features of puritanism are thought to owe some debt to this tradition? Following a discussion of these preliminary items, a review of modern studies in which the origins of the puritan spiritual tradition have been explored at some length will be provided, as well as a description of the research approach adopted here.

Scholars have never reached consensus on the meaning of the term *puritan* and its derivatives. Some have highlighted the political principles and goals of those who bore the name at one time or another; others have drawn attention to the religious beliefs and behaviours that appear unique to them. *Puritan* was first applied in derision, probably during the 1560s. Several decades passed before anyone used it self-referentially. During the reign of Charles I it was applied with unprecedented frequency and latitude. It was often equated with presbyterianism then, and has been since.¹ Peter Lake has effectively challenged the wisdom in seeking an objective definition for the term, by pointing out the contingency inherent in the ways in which it was originally used. Scholars “would do well”, he writes, “before pronouncing definitively on the nature of puritanism, to remember that they are dealing with an entity that was always already under construction and contestation both by the people being characterized (then and now) as puritans and their enemies”.² To imply that one meaning should be privileged universally seems unacceptable. And yet, for those who investigate and write about this complex and elusive entity, who are not willing to

¹ This history is elaborated in Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales, “Introduction: The Puritan Ethos, 1560–1700”, in *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560–1700*, ed. Durston and Eales (Houndmill, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996), 4–6.

² Peter Lake, “Anti-Puritanism: The Structure of a Prejudice”, in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke*, ed. Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), 86. Lake was not the first to highlight the difficulty in defining these terms; Patrick Collinson raised similar concerns in “A Comment: Concerning the Name Puritan”, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31 (1980), 484.

jettison the traditional terms altogether,³ an appropriate strategy would seem to be to identify and explain a working definition, while conceding that it will not be applicable for every specific time and circumstance.

Theodore D. Bozeman has formulated a description of puritanism which, it is believed, adequately serves the purposes of this project. In the 1988 monograph, *To Live Ancient Lives: The Primitivist Dimension in Puritanism*, he posited “a distinct pattern of principled dissent within English Protestantism” which “logically can be called Puritan”.⁴ Expanding his description, Bozeman identified “three interlinked agendas” which he believes motivated puritan dissent; namely, moralism, pietism and biblicist primitivism. The first was “a stress upon the moral transformation, performance, and purity of individuals and their communities”; the third, a conviction that “to move forward was to strive without rest for reconnection with the paradigmatic events and utterances of ancient and unspoiled times”—that is, the biblical age and the early years of the church.⁵ This thesis focuses on that dimension of puritanism represented in the second agenda he identified, which is pietism. Bozeman defined this as “a preoccupation with the self and its subjective states, particularly with its inner controls”, and listed pietism’s most common themes:

preparation for conversion; conversion; the great warfare of the flesh, world, and devil; the watch upon behavior; a marked degree of insecurity coupled to a quest for the assurance of salvation; introspection; a close attention to psychological dynamics that amounted virtually to a Puritan psychoanalysis; cases of conscience; disciplines of prayer and meditation; spiritual diaries; holy soliloquies; and sabbatarianism.⁶

Many scholars have acknowledged the pietist accent in puritan culture and expression. Christopher Hill noted an emphasis on “individual pietism, with the household as its essential unit” in late Elizabethan and Jacobean puritanism.⁷ Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales observed that “moderate puritans,

³ As some have recommended: see Durston and Eales, “Introduction: The Puritan Ethos”, 2.

⁴ Theodore Dwight Bozeman, *To Live Ancient Lives: The Primitivist Dimension in Puritanism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina), 7. This is not unlike the assessment of Jerald Brauer, who characterised puritan piety as a “dynamic and not static phenomenon . . . made up of interdependent elements or dimensions which participate in each other”, in “Types of Puritan Piety”, *Church History* 56, no. 1 (1987): 43.

⁵ Bozeman, *To Live Ancient Lives*, 9-11.

⁶ Bozeman, *To Live Ancient Lives*, 9-10.

⁷ Christopher Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (New York: Schocken, 1964), 502.

presbyterians and separatists were all deeply committed to Bible-reading and Bible-study, sermon-attendance and sermon-gadding, fasting and whole-day sabbatarianism; and all of them eagerly participated in a ceaseless round of such spiritual activities"; and they claimed that "it was this behaviour which more than anything else marked out a man or a woman as a puritan".⁸ And, in his treatment of the seventeenth-century devotional habits of New England puritans, Charles Hambrick-Stowe remarked that "Puritanism in England, whatever else it accomplished in the economic, ecclesiastical, political, and social turmoil of the period, was a devotional movement dedicated to the spiritual regeneration of individuals and society". Like Durston and Eales, he also believed that puritan piety was essential to puritan identity, asserting that "the particular forms of public worship and the characteristic private devotional exercises were what made a Puritan a Puritan".⁹ More recently, the work of puritans William Perkins, Richard Baxter, Lewis Bayly and Cotton Mather has been featured in Blackwell's introduction to *The Pietist Theologians*.¹⁰

There is a fairly ample body of evidence which confirms that those who are identified as puritans in this thesis were driven by all three agendas Bozeman has identified. Indeed, Richard Rogers and his clerical colleagues, who comprise the focus of this project, have already been classified as classic examples of the puritan movement in several studies on Elizabethan puritanism and puritan spirituality.¹¹ Bozeman's approach has also been useful in the investigation of figures like Thomas Rogers and Edmund Bunny, whose religious status is more difficult to categorize.¹²

The Catholic ascetic tradition also receives a great deal of attention in this study. The English term *ascetic* derives from the Greek *askeo*, which means, literally,

⁸ Durston and Eales, "Introduction: The Puritan Ethos", 31.

⁹ Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, *The Practice of Piety: Puritan Devotional Disciplines in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 23; viii.

¹⁰ Carter Lindberg, ed., *The Pietist Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 38-51 (Perkins), 52-67 (Bayly and Baxter), 115-27 (Mather). As Lindberg notes in the introductory essay (pp. 2-3), this volume adopts the relatively broad conception of pietism posited by Martin Brecht; see, for instance, Martin Brecht, Ulrich Gäbler and Hartmut Lehmann, eds. *Geschichte des Pietismus*, vol. 1, *Der Pietismus vom Siebzehnten bis zum Frühen Achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, ed. Martin Brecht (Göttingen, Germany: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht): 116.

¹¹ See, e.g., William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism; or, the Way to the New Jerusalem as Set Forth in Pulpit and Press from Thomas Cartwright to John Lilburne and John Milton, 1570-1643* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), 36-38; Marshall M. Knappen, ed., *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries* (Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1933), 17-35; and Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1967; Oxford: Clarendon Paperbacks, 1990), 382.

¹² These figures are discussed in chapter 5 of this paper.

“to work with raw materials”; idiomatically and more commonly, it refers to a kind of training, such as that associated with athletics. According to Andrew Louth, in the first centuries of the Christian church, the concept of asceticism was closely associated with martyrdom, and spiritual training was conceived as both preparation for literal martyrdom, and an effort analogous to it, considered as a form of “spiritual” or “gnostic” martyrdom. Heavily influenced by Platonic teachings, Christian asceticism was seen as a process by which the devout sought to free the soul or intellect, in order to commune with God. This liberation was achieved through steps more traditionally associated with asceticism, such as fasting and other forms of self-deprivation, but also through study of and meditation on sacred truth. “The emergence in the fourth century of more structured forms of asceticism that came to be called monasticism,” writes Louth, “with the monk inheriting the role of martyr . . . led to more explicit reflection on asceticism.”¹³ From the fourth century onwards, the Christian ascetic tradition came to be associated very closely with the monastic communities. The process by which the reflections of the religious were organized and passed down is summarised in the next chapter of this paper. Towards the late medieval and early modern period, the ascetic teachings of the monastics were increasingly adapted and conveyed to lay Catholics, through cooperative religious-lay initiatives such as the *devotio moderna*, and through devotional manuals, which became especially common beginning in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with the coming of print. Ignatius Loyola, who played an important role in guiding the ascetic teaching of Catholics during the period under consideration here, promoted a spiritual approach that was distinctly non-monastic.

Even in this brief account of asceticism, one may recognize aspects that dovetail with the description of puritan pietism given above. An emphasis on the saints’ ceaseless warfare with internal and external forces; anchoritic separation, analogous to the layperson’s habit of self-isolation and self-examination; and devotional exercises such as prayer and meditation: these were facets of Christian ascetic spirituality centuries before the Protestant Reformation, but have also been associated with puritan religion. How does one account for the ascetic or pietistic impetus within puritan spirituality, and for the likeness between puritan devotion and the spiritual habits associated with the Catholic religious communities? Modern

¹³ Andrew Louth, “Asceticism” in *The New SCM Dictionary of Christian Spirituality (SCMDCS)*, ed. Philip Sheldrake (London: SCM, 2005), 131.

scholars have cited a number of diverse and sometimes contradictory factors to account for the pietism inherent in puritan devotional teaching, which becomes evident during the final decade of the sixteenth century. A few historians have acknowledged its resemblance to Catholic ascetic teaching, and some have even suggested that puritan writers consciously borrowed ideas from Catholic spiritual guides, as the following overview of modern secondary literature demonstrates. Some of the theories mentioned here are revisited and described in greater detail later in the study.

In her two influential works, *The Tudor Books of Private Devotion* (1951) and *English Devotional Literature [Prose] 1600-1640* (1931), Helen White provided a taxonomy of Catholic and Protestant devotional texts distributed in England during the early modern period.¹⁴ White devoted most of the former to a discussion of the medieval roots of much of sixteenth-century English piety, noting the special influence of the Psalter and the English primers on later forms of print. In the latter, she discussed the tensions between Jesuit and Protestant devotional writers, going into some detail about the incidents surrounding the publication of Robert Persons's *First Booke of Christian Resolution* and Edmund Bunny's Protestant edition of the same. White also emphasised the popularity of Catholic works such as Persons's *Resolution* and à Kempis's *The Imitation of Christ* among English Protestants, and suggested that this coincided with an appropriation of Counter-Reformation ideas and techniques in the spiritual writings of Protestants:

[English] works of theology, controversy, and homiletics, borrowed freely from continental Protestant writers, but on the whole the books of devotion are much less heavily indebted to Protestant than to Catholic sources. The reason is probably that the book of devotion as distinguished from the book of instruction was at the beginning very much more of a Catholic than a Protestant institution. It was one of the outstanding features of the Catholic as distinguished from the Protestant Reformation, and in its development in English it affords one of the most interesting evidences we have . . . that the history of the English Church in the seventeenth century is in some important respects to be associated with that of the Catholic Reformation.¹⁵

¹⁴ Helen C. White, *The Tudor Books of Private Devotion* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1951); and *English Devotional Literature (Prose) 1600-1640* (New York: Haskell House, 1966).

¹⁵ White, *English Devotional Literature*, 89-90.

Somewhat surprisingly, one finds this intriguing observation of White's almost wholly undeveloped in her work, in spite of chapters that discuss the "Types", "Methods", "Controlling Ideas" and "Temper and Style" of native English devotional works written during the early seventeenth century. She did discuss some of the philosophical principles shared by the writers of these texts and those of the medieval period, but her exposition of devotional literature in the early Stuart period was otherwise mostly synchronic. To her credit, White's suggestion that Catholic devotional manuals played an important role in inspiring the conception of the English ones has been repeated and confirmed by other studies, though it was fairly new in its day. Perhaps the most significant weakness of White's two works, at least regarding their ability to inform any discussion of the continuity between earlier Catholic and English Protestant devotional literature, is that she took no account of Richard Rogers's *Seven Treatises*. Several scholars have affirmed that this text was the first systematic puritan—even the first Protestant—pietistic devotional manual published in England, written in part, by Rogers's admission, to compete with certain Catholic manuals that had gained popularity in England.

A few scholars writing around the same time made cursory acknowledgement of the importance of outside sources for puritan piety. In his introduction to the journals of Richard Rogers and Samuel Ward (*Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, 1933), Marshall M. Knappen noted that similar means were employed by medieval churchmen and puritan ministers, in pursuit of a godly frame of mind, such as "frequent services at stated hours, made attractive with music, processions, vestments, pictures, and images" in the former; and a daily repertoire of personal and family prayer, meditation and thanksgiving in the latter.¹⁶ Later, both Perry Miller (*The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century*, 1939) and Knappen (in *Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism*, same year) drew attention to the Augustinian roots of puritanism.¹⁷ Knappen also mentioned the influence of St Bernard, the ascetic bent of both Calvin and Zwingli, and the monastic ideal that persisted within England's universities, to account for the puritans' asceticism. In *The Rise of Puritanism* (1938), which addressed puritan rhetoric and literature, William Haller posited that the medieval parson in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* was a prototypical

¹⁶ Knappen, ed., *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, 7.

¹⁷ Perry Miller, *The New England Mind* (New York: MacMillan, 1939); Marshall M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism* (University of Chicago Press, 1939).

puritan, with characteristic grave demeanor and concern for the salvation of souls. But he attributed the puritan penchant for pietistic introspection to the dominance of the doctrine of predestination, which he says preachers used to promote self-examination. "Election, vocation, justification, sanctification, glorification. . . . As in later times men were taught to follow with patient observation the least workings of natural law in the external universe", he wrote, "men in the Puritan age were taught to follow by intense introspection the workings of the law of predestination within their own souls."¹⁸ Haller claimed that puritan spirituality was basically an outgrowth of Calvinist theology, modified by the particularities of the Elizabethan political situation, under which non-conformist clergy "were firmly held in check, but . . . not crushed or completely thwarted".¹⁹ Notably, he acknowledged the significance of Rogers's *Seven Treatises*, calling it "the first important exposition of the code of behaviour which expressed . . . the Puritan conception of the moral and spiritual life".²⁰

Louis Martz built upon White's hypothesis regarding the Counter-Reformation's influence in England, in *The Poetry of Meditation* (1954).²¹ However, his study focused on works by more conservative English writers and poets, as he assumed these were the only figures who adopted material from Catholic texts during the early seventeenth century. Martz addressed puritan spirituality in a chapter on Richard Baxter, the only puritan he included in his study, but his findings were compromised by inaccuracies which later scholars have noted. He implied that before Baxter, puritan devotional practice was a relatively arid phenomenon, and that sophisticated Counter-Reformation teachings—on meditation, for instance—were unwelcome or unknown to puritan writers. Martz also mistakenly concluded that Calvinist belief led puritans to shun devotional exercises, and that Baxter was the first to advocate the use of exercises, by an appeal to the believer's need for assurance. These shortcomings were probably a consequence of his narrow range of sources; Martz admitted to consulting only White's books, Haller's *Rise of Puritanism*, Knappen's *Tudor Puritanism* and Baxter's writings, for his discussion of puritanism.

¹⁸ Haller, *Rise of Puritanism*, 90-91.

¹⁹ Haller, *Rise of Puritanism*, 9.

²⁰ Haller, *Rise of Puritanism*, 36.

²¹ Louis Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation: English Religious Literature in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954).

One of the first to challenge Martz was Gordon S. Wakefield, who engaged with some pre- and Counter-Reformation sources in his mostly descriptive text, *Puritan Devotion: Its Place in the Development of Christian Piety* (1957).²² Wakefield took exception to Martsz's claim that Catholic-inspired forms of meditation were not employed by puritans until the writing of Baxter's *The Saints Everlasting Rest* (1649), noting that puritan Lewis Bayly had closely followed the Ignatian *Spiritual Exercises* in meditative technique, in *The Practice of Piety* (2nd edn., 1612). Like Miller and Knappen, Wakefield also made much of the puritan connection to Augustine and to St Bernard. Yet his was a wide-ranging overview of puritan religious thought and practice, with few references to outside influences. He drew attention to Catholic medieval material in order to set puritanism in relief, for the most part, rather than to demonstrate kinship between these traditions, concluding his work with a discourse on "The Contrast With Catholic Piety".²³

Three studies published shortly after those of Knappen, Haller, Miller and Martsz highlighted similarities between Catholic ascetic and puritan spiritual practice, without implying that the former explicitly influenced the latter in any way. Adopting what some might consider a negative caricature of puritanism, as "the pursuit of an exaggerated and impossible otherworldliness, with all its natural fruits of frequent formality and hypocrisy", George G. Coulton drew attention to aspects of the lives of medieval religious individuals and communities which he believed foreshadowed puritanism, in his essay on "The High Ancestry of Puritanism" (1959).²⁴ These included "a gloom of life", a belief in double predestination ("the iron logic with which [the Calvinist] condemns so huge a proportion of mankind to eternal pain"), and "plain" and "sordid" taste in music and architecture.²⁵ Coulton claimed that puritanism was merely the later, Protestant expression of a misguided impulse that had manifested itself throughout the history of the church. Similarly (but more charitably), Irvonwy Morgan asserted that the puritan "brotherhood" of ministers had assumed a role very similar to that which the Dominican preaching friars had

²² Gordon S. Wakefield, *Puritan Devotion: Its Place in the Development of Christian Piety* (London: Epworth, 1957).

²³ Wakefield, *Puritan Devotion*, 160-64. Wakefield also contrasted the puritan approach towards the heart of Jesus, as represented in Thomas Goodwin's *The Heart of Christ in Heaven toward Sinners on Earth* (London: 1642), with that of the Catholic Sacred Heart tradition, instituted by St John Eudes, in the seventeenth century; see *Puritan Devotion*, 99-101.

²⁴ George G. Coulton, *Ten Medieval Studies* (Boston: Beacon, 1959)

²⁵ Coulton, *Ten Medieval Studies*, passim.

occupied in former times, in *The Godly Preachers of the Elizabethan Church* (1965). “It was the same religious aspirations that moved the faithful monk or friar and the Puritan preacher, namely the conversion of souls by preaching Christ, and the search for sanctity,” he wrote, positing that, “If there is one fact more than another which gave rise to the growth and extension of the Puritan movement, it was the corruption of the Preaching Friars and their eventual dissolution in the days of Henry VIII”.²⁶ Morgan also speculated that from the romances which had been popular in the late medieval period, both Calvin and Loyola had inherited a distinctly chivalric view of the Gospel, which they in turn conveyed to the puritans and the Jesuits, respectively. Like Haller and several later researchers, Morgan discussed the importance of Richard Rogers and his *Seven Treatises*, which he said contained elements that were reminiscent of Catholic ascetic teaching. In *Papists and Puritans under Elizabeth I* (1967), Patrick McGrath drew comparison between the early puritans and the Catholic recusants who struggled under the Elizabethan establishment, noting how “both the Catholic and the Puritan groups showed a capacity to attract support from the comparatively small body of people with really deep religious convictions”.²⁷ In spite of his recognition of several parallels between the devotional methods of these two groups, however, McGrath never speculated that either one influenced the other.

Most studies of puritanism written during the last thirty years or so have cited the same sources to which earlier research has referred, but they have also given more attention to some Catholic texts which were disseminated in England during the Elizabethan and Stuart periods. A few scholars have suggested that Catholic devotional literature provided a challenge for Elizabethan Protestant writers, because these writers had produced little to compare (or compete) with this literature, and Catholic writers criticized them for this shortcoming. Nearly all have cited Edmund Bunny’s plagiarism of Robert Persons’s Jesuit spiritual treatise as evidence for this claim. Some have also noted similarities between Catholic and Protestant (especially puritan) writings, and have hinted at the possibility that Catholic devotional teachings were actually adopted by some prominent Elizabethan puritans.

Charles Hambrick-Stowe devoted almost fifteen pages of his study, *The Practice of Piety: Puritan Devotional Disciplines in Seventeenth-Century New*

²⁶ Irvonwy Morgan, *The Godly Preachers of the Elizabethan Church* (London: Epworth, 1965), 2.

²⁷ Patrick McGrath, *Papists and Puritans under Elizabeth I* (London: Blandford, 1967), 384-85.

England (1982), to a discussion of puritanism's ties with medieval and Counter-Reformation spirituality. He mentioned puritanism's debt to Augustine, and challenged Martz, as Wakefield had, demonstrating that puritan writers and preachers had employed imaginative forms of meditation and preaching similar to those taught by Catholics fairly early on. He also mentioned Edmund Bunny's use of Robert Persons's *Resolution*, and made a brief but explicit claim that attributed elements of puritan literature to the pattern laid down in certain Catholic books:

Puritans knew and used Catholic devotional works. . . . To a large extent the Puritan devotional writing that blossomed in the early seventeenth century was modeled on earlier Roman Catholic devotional literature. Aware that Catholics were far ahead in this area, Protestants rushed to close the gap. They consciously copied well-established Catholic forms and frequently used similar titles.²⁸

Hambrick-Stowe gave little evidence to support these assertions, aside from the account of Bunny and Persons, although he did list a number of parallels in the devotional texts of Catholics and puritans. Following White, he mistakenly credited Francis de Sales with writing the first spiritual manual for lay readers: his *Introduction to a Devout Life*, published in England in 1613.²⁹

Richard Lovelace challenged the notion that puritan devotional writings were indebted to Catholic literature in his 1989 essay, "The Anatomy of Puritan Piety: English Puritan Devotional Literature". He conceded that there were similarities between puritan and Catholic texts, but argued that the adoption of Catholic forms of devotional instruction was a practice of conservative English writers, not puritans. He claimed the English primer and the sermon were the chief literary precursors to puritan literature, and also cited Peter Ramus (Pierre de la Ramée, 1515–1572) as an important literary influence. After noting several factors that other scholars had put forth to explain the increased output of pietistic puritan writings that occurred around the beginning of the seventeenth century, Lovelace suggested that "the most simple and plausible" of these was that the time had been ripe to begin addressing more practical concerns. "Puritan devotional concern represents the natural development of a further stage in the Reformation", he wrote, "which had begun by restructuring

²⁸ Hambrick-Stowe, *Practice of Piety*, 28.

²⁹ Francis de Sales, *An Introduction to a Devoute Life*, trans. John Yakesly (London: 1613); Catholic writers such as Luis de Granada and Robert Persons, discussed in chapter 3 of this study, wrote ascetic guides for the laity decades before de Sales. See Hambrick-Stowe, *Practice of Piety*, 30.

doctrine and the exterior order of the church, and which was now turning to the development of its own inner life, heeding the clear biblical teaching that all was worthless without this last step.”³⁰

In his doctoral dissertation, “The Puritan Meditative Tradition, 1599-1691: A Study of Ascetical Piety” (1986), Simon K. H. Chan cited a sequence of intriguing events which makes the notion that features of puritan devotional teaching were inspired by Catholic ascetic writings seem reasonable. He acknowledged the originality and importance of Rogers’s *Seven Treatises*, and drew attention to the critique of Jesuit texts that Rogers offered in its preface. Most notably, Chan observed that Rogers’s guide was “not very dissimilar in format” to the Jesuit manuals Rogers had mentioned seeing, listing (in a footnote) four similarities between his *Seven Treatises* and a work by the Jesuit Gaspar Loarte, called *The Exercise of a Christian Life*.³¹ Chan acknowledged that “the specific connections between these two spiritual streams [medieval Catholic and puritan] have not been clearly mapped out” by contemporary scholars, but claimed that his analysis of the evolution of puritan meditation represented a step towards a more clear understanding of these connections. While conceding that puritan writers probably took a greater interest in pietistic devotional practices because of the example of Catholic tracts that had appeared in their day, Chan drew attention to facets of early Reformed thought which could readily accommodate an emphasis on such practices. In this manner he took exception to Peter F. Jensen, who claimed in his study of Elizabethan catechisms, “The Life of Faith in the Teaching of Elizabethan Protestants”, that the Protestant theology of early Elizabethan Protestants like Edward Dering had required modification in later years, since its heavy emphasis on predestination, justification and assurance had left Protestants unsettled and eager for more practical teaching.³²

Like Chan and others, Elizabeth K. Hudson also highlighted the significance of Rogers’s *Seven Treatises* in her essay, “The Catholic Challenge to Puritan Piety, 1580-1620” (1991), noting that it was “the first work to respond directly to the

³⁰ Richard Lovelace, “Puritan Spirituality: The Search for a Rightly Reformed Church”, in *A History of Christian Spirituality: Orthodox Spirituality & Protestant & Anglican Spirituality*, ed. Louis Dupré and Don E. Saliers (London: SCM, 1994), 301. F. Ernest Stoeffler had proffered a similar evaluation, calling English pietism “simply the second phase of the Reformation” and “the extension of the reform principle to the Christian life”, in *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (Leiden: Brill, 1965) 23.

³¹ Simon K. H. Chan, “The Puritan Meditative Tradition, 1599–1691: A Study of Ascetical Piety” (Ph.D. diss., Cambridge, 1986), 52–54; (quote, 53). Loarte’s *Exercise* is described in chap. 3.

³² Peter F. Jensen, “The Life of Faith in the Teaching of Elizabethan Protestants” (D.Phil. diss., Oxford, 1979), 172–73.

Catholic challenge and to lay out a comprehensive Protestant direction for Christian living".³³ Hudson provided a lengthy description of Rogers's work, acknowledging similarities between it and some Catholic treatises. Nevertheless, she was hesitant to attribute parallels to a conscious adoption of ideas, claiming only that both puritans and Catholics drew from the same "ancient resources".³⁴ Like Haller and Jensen, she speculated that the flourishing of methodical, pietistic puritan writings was a result of circumstances such as "a natural anxiety arising from the doctrine of predestination and a sense of the need to demonstrate [the Protestant] faith more systematically".³⁵ She also speculated that "Catholic ridicule that Protestants had no daily direction for practicing their faith" might have been a factor, but concluded that ultimately, it would be very difficult to establish for certain "to what extent the Catholic challenge helped to stimulate the further production of Protestant household devotional aids".³⁶

Two scholars writing in recent years, James Keenan and Theodore Bozeman, who has been mentioned, have more firmly asserted that Rogers and other puritans consciously adopted elements of Catholic devotional teaching. In his 1999 essay, "Jesuit Casuistry or Jesuit Spirituality?: The Roots of Seventeenth-Century British Puritan Practical Divinity", Keenan sought to correct an error in scholarship which had been perpetuated for some time; namely, the assumption that British "practical divinity" or spiritual instruction had been inspired by Jesuit *casuistry*. If casuistry were equated with spirituality, more generally, this might be accepted, Keenan asserted. But scholars who had made this claim had identified it with Catholic *moral theology*, a genre specifically devised for the training of priest confessors. According to Keenan, this material had not influenced puritan writing until close to the middle of the seventeenth century. "But whereas [earlier] British divines did not read Jesuit casuistry," he noted, "they did read Jesuit devotional texts."³⁷ Keenan cited Rogers's *Seven Treatises* as a prime illustration, highlighting the defensive and critical remarks about Catholic devotional manuals with which Rogers and his editors prefaced the text: "After twenty years of Puritan pamphlets," he wrote, "the first sustained work of

³³ Elizabeth K. Hudson, "The Catholic Challenge to Puritan Piety, 1580–1620", *Catholic Historical Review* 77 (1991): 11.

³⁴ Hudson, "Catholic Challenge", 16, n. 29.

³⁵ Hudson, "Catholic Challenge": 20.

³⁶ Hudson, "Catholic Challenge": 20, 18.

³⁷ James F. Keenan, "Jesuit Casuistry or Jesuit Spirituality?: The Roots of Seventeenth Century British Puritan Practical Divinity", in *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley, 627–40 (University of Toronto Press, 1999), 628.

[puritan] practical divinity defines itself not in relation to Jesuit casuistry, but in relation to Jesuit works of devotion.” Thus, he concluded, “the roots of British practical divinity are found not in the sin manuals of Jesuit casuistry, but in Jesuit ascetical theology.”³⁸ In this way, Keenan implied that Rogers and others had drawn inspiration from Counter-Reformation literature. He underscored the similarity of mindset that characterised puritans and Jesuits, remarking how “uncannily, the deeply introspective yet profoundly rational spiritualities of both traditions approach one another asymptotically, precisely when they stand at opposite ends of the religio-political identity of England at the end of the sixteenth century”.³⁹ Like Hudson, Keenan also mentioned the widespread popularity of the works of three Catholic ascetics in England—Luis de Granada, Gaspar Loarte and Robert Persons—and the plagiaristic “puritanizing” of Persons’s *Resolution* by Edmund Bunny.

Most recently, Bozeman has elaborated on these claims in *The Precisianist Strain: Disciplinary Religion & Antinomian Backlash in Puritanism to 1638* (2003). Like some of the scholars cited above, he suggests that puritan devotional writers read and appropriated elements of Catholic religious teaching, in order to find help in structuring the Protestant devotional programme of which they were creators, which was relatively immature and undeveloped. Bozeman mentions the pioneering work of Richard Rogers, and the fact that Rogers depicted his own manual as a response to Catholic literature. He devotes most attention, however, to the ministry of Richard Greenham, whom he portrays as the chief forebear of a “puritan pietism” which began to flourish as James I took the throne. Bozeman summarises the process by which Greenham and others allegedly adapted Catholic teaching thus:

This vast reservoir [of devotional material] derived from patristic, medieval, and Christian Humanist texts, together with the work of contemporaries like [Jesuit Robert] Parsons and Protestant authors like Bradford, Dering, and the French Calvinist devotionalists, who themselves borrowed and adapted traditional motifs of spirituality both ancient and recent. All such materials were cleansed of Pelagian, mystical, or other heretical implications, removed from association with sacred places, objects, and unscriptural rites, linked to biblical teaching, and then spliced into the framework of evangelical and Puritan teaching. The result was to mask the true extent to which Greenham, with many other Protestants of the time, partook of a common heritage with the Catholic foe.⁴⁰

³⁸ Keenan, “Jesuit Casuistry or Jesuit Spirituality?”, 628.

³⁹ Keenan, “Jesuit Casuistry or Jesuit Spirituality?”, 631.

⁴⁰ Bozeman, *Precisianist Strain*, 79-80.

Bozeman's claims about the puritans' appropriation of older Catholic literature are elegantly stated, but he actually presents little new evidence to support them. And, while intriguing, his account of the introduction of asceticism into late Elizabethan and Jacobean Protestantism is ancillary to the main focus of his work, which is the antinomian impetus that arose in the seventeenth century, in reaction (he alleges) to this asceticism.

The work of Chan, Keenan and Bozeman has given students of early modern history reason to reconsider similarities between puritan pietism and Catholic asceticism. They demonstrate that puritan devotional teaching should not be perceived as merely the product of a rediscovery by Protestants of an ascetic impulse recurrent in Christian history, as some earlier researchers asserted. Rather, it may have derived, at least in part, from a conscious adaptation of Catholic ascetic teaching. At the same time, it would appear that some potentially fertile sources of evidence cited in these newer studies have remained unexplored; especially those that pertain to the life and work of Richard Rogers. A number of scholars have placed him alongside Richard Greenham and William Perkins as a patriarch of puritan devotional print, and several have called attention to the fact that he framed his important text, the *Seven Treatises*, as a "counterpoyson" to Catholic handbooks. Still, only a few—Hambrick-Stowe, Chan, Keenan and Bozeman—have suggested that he and other puritans actually drew inspiration from these Catholic texts, and none of these four scholars have offered a great deal of evidence to support this claim.

The ensuing study endeavours to carry the research discussed here a bit further forward. Specifically, an attempt is made to demonstrate the significance of the role that Catholic ascetic literature played in the creation of Richard Rogers's *Seven Treatises*, through an investigation of his life and work, and the various sources which may have inspired this specific text. While it is possible, and even probable, that both Richard Greenham and William Perkins also read and borrowed ideas from the Catholic literature discussed in this study, the circumstances surrounding Rogers make him and his work a more suitable focus of research, as will become evident.⁴¹

⁴¹ Both Greenham's and Perkins's writings contain many of the same themes and features as the Catholic devotional manuals with which they were likely familiar. However, neither published a devotional text that was as comprehensive in scope as that of Rogers's work, and neither left behind a

Without doubt, the pietism that characterised puritan devotional print in its heyday originated from a panoply of historical sources, of which Rogers's work was only one. The conclusions reached here must and will be set in perspective, accordingly. Before the analytical approach on which this project is based is described, it will be fitting to address the methodological risks inherent in an enterprise like this one.

Some have objected that such studies, which attempt to trace "influence" in history, are misguided. Given the large number of texts published in England during the late sixteenth century, and the complexity of this body of literature, some might claim that it is rash to assume that similarities in Catholic and puritan devotional works indicate that one confession influenced the other. A writer like Rogers may have been inspired by other *Protestant* texts (or by any one of a number of non-literary sources!), and Catholic devotional manuals may have played no part. Such a view was espoused by Lovelace. Others, noting that the historian's evidence is never complete, might claim that it is impossible to identify all of the sources that influenced any given writer, and that consequently, claims of influence can never be validated satisfactorily. Quentin Skinner made this basic assertion four decades ago, remarking that "The historian wishes to gain assent for his appeals to similarities. . . . [but] his commonsense concepts . . . fail to provide such means of explanation without ambiguity."⁴² Because attempts to explain relationships between ideas and events in history are fraught with such difficulty, and many so-called "commonsense concepts" fall short, Skinner advised students of history to concentrate on description, rather than explanation. "If it is not possible to claim that it was clearly the influence of P_1 which explains the form of P_2 ," he wrote, "the only approach to an understanding of their possible relations must be to construct a complete account of the historical situation within which both P_1 and P_2 can be located and thus explained. . . . The primary aim should not be to explain, but only in the fullest measure to describe."⁴³ Skinner believed that the development of broad, detailed descriptions was the historian's most reliable means of gaining an understanding of the relationship between ideas or events.

And yet, Skinner did propose a criterion by which a claim of influence *might* be convincingly made—"the type of investigation needed for the validity of such

lengthy commentary giving his opinion on the challenge presented by Catholic devotional literature, as Rogers did. The work of Greenham and Perkins is discussed briefly, in chapter 6.

⁴² Quentin Skinner, "The Limits of Historical Explanations", *Philosophy* 41 (1966): 213.

⁴³ Skinner, "Limits of Historical Explanations": 213-14.

explanations to be established”—which involves identifying a source’s distinctive traits or “characteristic features” and looking for these same features in the idea or event which the source allegedly influenced:

To identify the one idea or event P_1 as the necessary source for an influence said to be observed in a later idea or event P_2 presupposes first the isolation and investigation of P_1 ’s most characteristic features. The judgment that the influence on P_2 must undoubtedly have derived from P_1 cannot otherwise be made without risk of confusion with other antecedent ideas or events ($P_3, P_4, P_5, \dots P_n$) similar to P_1 . The judgment that P_1 influenced P_2 seems in effect to entail that we see repeated in P_2 the elements which also give to P_1 its characteristic form.⁴⁴

Skinner has placed some formidable hurdles in the path of the historian. Even the method described here, he insisted, is “subject . . . in the first place to large practical limitations”, the chief of which is the fact that “documentary raw materials are usually incomplete, sometimes systematically misleading, and hence in many cases incapable of sustaining any one convincing explanatory hypothesis”.⁴⁵ Ultimately, it would seem, the researcher must decide whether the evidence is adequate, both in quantity and quality, to warrant a study of the type in question. In the case of the present project, it was felt that the available resources were sufficient to justify such an investigation, and that its results do in fact strengthen and bring helpful nuance to the basic thesis advanced here, which has appeared in more primitive form in some of the studies mentioned above. In deference to the kinds of considerations raised by Skinner, an attempt has been made to “construct a more complete account of the historical situation” in which Richard Rogers and other Elizabethan puritans wrote their devotional treatises. In addition, an effort has been made to compare Rogers’s *Seven Treatises* with the Catholic texts that may have influenced his work, according to the basic method described by Skinner here.

Research for this project has been focused on four areas. One of these is the genre of Catholic devotional books which scholars believe may have inspired the teaching of Rogers and others. These have been designated *ascetic treatises* in this study because of their provenance in the medieval ascetic tradition and their literary structure. The term also helps to differentiate these texts from other Catholic

⁴⁴ Skinner, “Limits of Historical Explanations”: 207.

⁴⁵ Skinner, “Limits of Historical Explanations”: 207.

devotional writings that were distributed in England during the same period, such as primers, prayer collections and rosary guides. In chapter 2, the origin of these writings and the process by which they were introduced to readers in Elizabethan England for the first time is explored. Chapter 3 features a description of specific titles in the genre, and its characteristic features.

Religious books published legally in England during the reign of Elizabeth I comprise a second focus of this project. Through an examination of this large body of “indigenous” English texts, it has been possible to determine with greater precision the extent to which puritan devotional writings, and particularly Rogers’s *Seven Treatises*, were similar to and different from other Protestant writings, and the extent to which the Catholic ascetic treatises mentioned above compare with them, as well. In turn, these analyses have made it easier to recognize attributes that Rogers’s work shared with the Catholic ascetic treatises, exclusively.

It would have been unfeasible to attempt to examine every title within this body of literature, in spite of the great advantage provided by resources such as Early English Books Online (EEBO). Instead, a sample of texts from this period was used, derived from Ian Green’s study of *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (2000). For his research, Green compiled a list of English religious texts which he characterised as “best-sellers and steady sellers” from the early modern period. These were “titles which were probably printed at least five times in the space of thirty years, starting either from their first appearance in print or a subsequent edition”.⁴⁶ Even though Green’s sampling method fails to register some undeniably important texts, such as John Foxe’s *Actes and Monuments* and the puritan *Admonition to Parliament*, it does encompass a large and useful sample of printed works, including those that sold very well during a brief period of time (“best-sellers”) and those that gained more long-term appeal, having been printed repeatedly over as long as a few decades (“steady sellers”).

It has been necessary to make a few modifications to Green’s sample for this project. His large study accounted for works published between 1530 and 1730, and drew from Pollard and Redgrave’s *Short-Title Catalogue* (texts printed during the period 1475–1640), Wing’s *Short-Title Catalogue* (texts printed during the period 1641–1700), and other sources. This project focuses on religious texts published

⁴⁶ Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press, 2000), 173.

during the reign of Elizabeth I (between 1558 and 1603). All of these are listed in the earlier *Short-Title Catalogue*, by Pollard and Redgrave. To augment the reliability of the study's findings, this same catalogue was consulted to identify texts that were not included in Green's sample, but which nevertheless seemed to merit investigation: popular texts that, for some reason, were not published as many as five times in a thirty-year period, and works whose titles or authors' names were such that it was suspected they might bear some resemblance to the Catholic ascetic treatises under examination.⁴⁷ Bibles were not included in the sample, because it was assumed that both Catholic and Protestant devotional writers read and were familiar with Scripture.⁴⁸

This sample of around 130 Elizabethan religious texts was utilized in two ways, as indicated above. First, the essential traits of the Catholic ascetic treatises of Gaspar Loarte, Robert Persons, Luis de Granada and others, were compared with writings in the sample published during the first two decades of the Elizabethan period, from 1558 to 1579—the latter being the year the first Catholic ascetic treatise appeared in England.⁴⁹ The results of this comparison are discussed in chapter 4. Second, works from the entire sample were compared with the puritan devotional manuals written by Rogers and other Protestants near the end of the queen's reign. The results of this research are discussed in chapter 6. These analyses have made it possible to identify, more accurately, aspects of form and content shared by the Catholic ascetic treatises ("P₁") and Rogers's *Seven Treatises* ("P₂").

A third area which has received attention here are the handful of "Protestantized" Catholic ascetic treatises which were published during the Elizabethan period. Many studies of early modern religion have made mention of the Protestant Edmund Bunny's plagiarism of the Jesuit Robert Persons's *First Booke of the Christian Exercise, Appertayning to Resolution*, and the ensuing battle of words between the two that followed. However, there were at least three other figures who used the same strategy as Bunny, purging and republishing outlawed Catholic guides which they believed were worthy of legal promotion. Some of these editors were linked, tenuously, to the Elizabethan puritan community, but their open-mindedness

⁴⁷ These added texts are listed in appendix IV., on p. 203.

⁴⁸ Of course, Scripture's pervasive influence on both groups was taken into consideration at each stage of research.

⁴⁹ The *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis has been excepted, for reasons explained on p. 70, n. 1.

to Catholic literature reflected a religious outlook that differed from the one typically held by more zealous Protestants, including Richard Rogers, who opted for a different literary strategy. Insights drawn from the lives and literary endeavours of these editors are discussed in chapter 5.

Richard Rogers and his spiritual manual, the fourth focus of research, are obviously central to the investigation pursued here. An effort has been made to build upon previous analyses of his *Seven Treatises*, using the survey of Elizabethan religious texts and Catholic ascetic treatises discussed above. Aspects of Rogers's life and ministry, documented in his personal journal (extant for the years 1587–1590) and in various secondary sources, have also been taken into account. Chapter 6 begins with a description of the historical milieu in which his *Seven Treatises* was conceived and written, and highlights the important role that Catholic ascetic literature seems to have played in shaping that text, based on the comments Rogers and his associates made in its preface, and features of the work that appear to have been inspired by these Catholic treatises. Evidence from these sources affirms the thesis advanced here, that Richard Rogers, and perhaps other puritan devotional authors, drew inspiration from the spiritual writings of their Catholic ascetic contemporaries.

PART ONE

THE CHALLENGE OF CATHOLIC ASCETIC LITERATURE

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: CATHOLIC ASCETIC LITERATURE IN
ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND

One important component of the historical phenomenon known as the Counter- or Catholic Reformation was the passing on of classic ascetic devotional techniques to interested laity, mainly by way of the medium of print. Some believed this teaching would help to firm up the spiritual vigour of the church's lay members, and safeguard them from the enticements of Protestantism. Ancient methods were simplified and articulated in printed devotional manuals, through which basic ascetic teaching was made accessible to a wide audience. Following the Elizabethan settlement, a large number of Catholic scholars and clergy left England and settled on the Continent, where they were exposed to these writings. Some saw in them a means of rehabilitating Catholicism in their homeland, and proceeded to translate them into English, and distribute them there. These unique writings would gain some popularity in England, and provoke Protestants there who recognized the power of these texts to draw readers towards the Catholic faith.

I. Pertinent Themes in Early Modern Catholicism**I.A. Precursors to the Sixteenth-Century Catholic Reformation**

A wave of renewal swept through the Catholic Church in Continental Europe during the sixteenth century. However, as Hubert Jedin, Michael Mullett and others persuasively argue, the Catholic Reformation cannot be adequately conceived as merely a response to the Protestant Reformation—a more traditional Protestant view represented by the term *Counter-Reformation*—because reforms had been advanced in the Catholic Church before Luther, in four key areas: conciliar, papal, episcopal and monastic.¹ While the councils convened at Constance (1414–18), Basel (1431–

¹ Jedin provides a helpful historiographical analysis of views of the period, respectively represented by the terms *Counter-* and *Catholic Reformation*, in "Catholic Reformation or Counter-

37), Florence and Rome (1438–45) and Pisa (1511) resulted in the materialization of a strong conciliar movement in tension with the papacy, Mullett asserts that these assemblies also promoted several lines of reform that were later acknowledged and acted upon at Trent. And in spite of the dubious reputation of some late medieval popes, there were those whose lives were marked by exemplary piety. Some, like Eugenius IV (1431–47) and Adrian VI (1522–23), were closely associated with the religious orders, and were characterised by devout integrity and activism. Paul III (1534–1549) appointed several reform-minded figures to the curia, and later decreed the establishment of the Capuchins (1536), the Jesuits (1540) and the Ursulines (1544).

Paul III also succeeded in summoning the Council of Trent for its first assembly, in December 1545, after two failed attempts. Before he died in 1549, the council had outlined its defining statements on the place of Scripture and tradition and the crucial issue of justification, and had wrestled with the issues of episcopal absenteeism and pluralism.² Pius IV (1559–1565) reconvened the council in 1562. Though he was not able to lure Germany's Protestant princes to the assembly, he did draw support and participation from Philip II and Emperor Ferdinand I, Spain and France. Through his appointment of the diplomatically adept Cardinal Giovanni Morone, Trent's president during its last years, Pius IV led the imperfect but important council to its conclusion, in 1563.³ The Tridentine emphasis on pastoral supervision and lay education would be acknowledged, in part, by the religious writers of the lay treatises that are discussed in subsequent chapters.

Several bishops throughout Europe were known for their reformist piety and achievements during the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In Italy, the Dominican Antonino Pierozzi (1389–1459), Archbishop of Florence, paid frequent visits to those in his see, and showed sensitivity to the pastoral concerns arising from an increasingly capitalistic economy there. In England, John Fisher (1469–1535), bishop of Rochester, was renowned for his frugality of life and devotion to ministry. The French bishop of Meaux, Guillaume Briçonnet (1472–1534), led a well-known reform movement in that region with the help of humanist Guillaume Lefèvre

Reformation?", in *The Counter-Reformation*, ed. David M. Luebke (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999); and see Michael A. Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation* (London: Routledge, 1999), passim, but esp. chap. 1.

² Robert Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450–1700: A Reassessment of the Counter Reformation* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1999), 46–50.

³ Bireley, *Refashioning of Catholicism*, 52–57.

d'Étaples (1455–1536). And in Spain, Cardinal Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros (1436–1517), Archbishop of Toledo, led a campaign to reform the priesthood and the orders, and founded a university for Catholic scholarship in Alcalá. The delegates gathered at Trent had the exemplary virtues of these ardent, spiritually-minded leaders in mind when revising the duties of the church's episcopal representatives.⁴

Yet, if Robert Bireley and others are correct, it was the church's religious orders, and not Trent's decrees, that were responsible for the greater part of the improvement in morals, ecclesiastical reform and expansion of pastoral care that occurred during the period. The sixteenth century is generally characterised as a time when the orders turned their attention outside the cloister, but this notion is not wholly accurate. New groups like the Theatines, Barnabites and Jesuits did take an active role in educating the masses and evangelizing non-Catholics, but precedents for their approach existed in previous centuries. The early Benedictines played a part in evangelizing Northern Europe, after all. And Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556), founder of the Society of Jesus, was personally inspired by Francis of Assisi (c. 1181-1226) and Dominic de Guzmán (1170-1221), both of whom set up orders to minister at the lay level.

The need for reform within the orders was also acknowledged in the decades before Protestantism, as evident in the work of individuals like Girolamo Savonarola (1452-98) and Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros, mentioned above. The Carthusians and the Windesheim *devotio moderna* both helped to revive contemplative practice, which in turn brought renewal to orders across Europe during the early modern period.⁵ Although the Protestant Reformation dealt a severe blow to groups like the Augustinians and the Benedictines, most of the older orders experienced a comeback of sorts in the post-Tridentine period, and a few well-established groups like the Dominicans remained strong throughout the conflicts of the era. Most of the newer orders arose in the milieu of confessional conflict, and adapted to it fairly well, providing fresh inspiration to the church during a period of unremitting controversy. Loyola's Jesuits numbered ten when recognized by Paul III in 1540, but they could boast 1,000 sixteen years later, at the midpoint of the reign of Mary I. Mullett calls the Society of Jesus "the advance post of Catholic modernisation in the sixteenth

⁴ Mullett, *Catholic Reformation*, 17-22.

⁵ Mullett, *Catholic Reformation*, 23-27; and see Richard Woods, "Dominican Spirituality", in *SCMDS*, 251-53.

century”, and Hsia notes that they “soon became the most important force in Catholic renewal”.⁶ The second most important order in early modern Catholic renewal, the Capuchins, began as a protest movement dissatisfied with the laxness of the Italian Observants. Their mendicant austerity, service to the poor and basic Gospel preaching earned them widespread admiration and a large membership in a short period of time. During the latter half of the sixteenth century, there was also a revival of female religious activity, with the formation of the Ursulines and St Teresa’s work of revitalization among the Carmelites. The image of the soldier-ascetic that was promulgated by Loyola and others inspired religious and lay Catholics all across Europe, as well as those in England who were alienated from the liturgical involvement their European brethren enjoyed.⁷

For the purposes of this project, it is appropriate to look at two aspects of this broad renewal movement, or Catholic Reformation; one being the systemization and delineation of the means necessary for achieving a robust spiritual life, classically fulfilled in Loyola’s *Spiritual Exercises*; the other being the multifaceted campaign to equip laypeople, and not just religious, to pursue such a life.

I.B. The Systemization of the Spiritual Life

From the Christian church’s very beginning, the processes of analysis and formulation were applied to accumulated spiritual knowledge, informed by sacred Scripture and tested through experience. The Old and New Testaments (and the Apocrypha) contain scores of direct and indirect references to a kind of regimented, disciplinary training, understood as both a sign of and a means to holiness. The Psalms attributed to King David mention his habit of worshiping seven times a day, and the prophet Daniel is described as having routinely prayed at three set times, in full view of his Babylonian captors. Paul, the herald of New Covenant grace, commanded his protégé Timothy to exercise (*gymnaze*) like an athlete in pursuit of godliness.⁸ In the third century, Clement of Alexandria and Origen testified to the existence of an ascetic class of believers who engaged in exercises promoting spiritual

⁶ Mullett, *Catholic Reformation*, 24; R. Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540–1770*, 2nd ed., New Approaches to European History, vol. 24 (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 27.

⁷ Hsia, *World of Catholic Renewal*, 29; Bireley, *Refashioning of Catholicism*, 27.

⁸ Ps. 119:164; Dan. 6:10; 1 Tim. 4:7.

perfection. John Cassian wrote of a method of meditative prayer that was already considered ancient in the fourth century.⁹ According to Pierre Pourrat, meditation became the most important of ascetic disciplines during the Middle Ages. The Franciscan David of Augsburg (1200–1272) expressed this notion, insisting that “without the practice of meditation no religious can be worthy of his vocation”.¹⁰ Meditation was considered the crucial link between reading (usually Scripture) and prayer, and the latter occasionally led to contemplation, the acme of religious life. This four-fold process, summarised under the title *lectio divina*, was taught in Benedict’s Rule early on.¹¹ Apparently a handful of forms of meditation were taught from the early centuries, but no underlying theory of it was conceived until the height of the medieval period, and no fully-developed method of meditation was seen before the writings of two Spaniards, Garcia Ximenes de Cisneros (d. 1510; not to be confused with Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros, mentioned earlier) and Ignatius of Loyola.¹²

Pourrat attributes the systematization of meditation, and more broadly of the spiritual life, to the attention monastic ascetics placed on the conception of the “three ways” or spiritual steps of purgation, illumination and union in the Middle Ages. This was related to the more ancient strategy of classifying believers as either “beginners”, “those on the way”, or “the mature”. Augustine employed these stages to describe the saints’ progression in Christian love, and his thinking influenced medieval divines as well.¹³ Inspired by a Platonic view of contemplation, thirteenth-century figures like Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (5th century), St Bonaventure (1221–1274) and Hugh of St Palma (d. end of 13th century) prescribed exercises to lead the willing through the purgative, illuminative and unitive stages. Purgation required examining one’s conscience, confessing sins and reflecting on future judgment and the suffering of Christ, as well as the goodness of God, all of which helped to bring contrition. Meditation and prayer carried one through the illuminative phase as well. Through this same process some ultimately achieved an experience that transcended the struggles of the intellect, in the unitive stage. This legacy of contemplative doctrine

⁹ Laurence Freeman, “Meditation”, in *SCMDS*, 432.

¹⁰ *De Exterioris et Interioris Hominis Compositione* (Quaracchi, 1899); in Pierre Pourrat, *Christian Spirituality*, vol. 3 (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1922), 6-7.

¹¹ Terrence Kardong, “Lectio Divina”, in *SCMDS*, 403-04.

¹² Pourrat, *Christian Spirituality*, 8.

¹³ Pourrat, *Christian Spirituality*, 8-9.

was most faithfully preserved through the fourteenth century by the Franciscans, who saw meditation as a means of reforming orders in the church which were beginning to flag. “The holy men who worked for this reformation”, says Pourrat, “were rightly concerned with giving intenser spiritual life to priests and monks by means of meditation.”¹⁴

Beginning their ministry at Windesheim in the late fourteenth century, the Brethren of the Common Life advanced the spiritual teachings of their forebears, and it is with them that “methodical prayer, properly so called, seems to make its first appearance”.¹⁵ Through their influence, a number of monastic communities were reformed and revitalized around Europe. As manuscript copyists, these writers of the *devotio moderna* did as much to preserve the teachings of earlier medieval religious as they did to introduce new ones. Though some highlight the New Devotion’s importance as a precursor to the Protestant Reformation, Otto Gründler challenges this view, claiming that “the institutions and literature of the *devotio moderna* represent a revival of traditional monastic spirituality rather than a radical innovation”.¹⁶ What made their approach modern, he claims, was their willingness to share that spirituality with the laity, through the copying of religious manuscripts and the schools they founded to train laypeople who sought a more devout life.¹⁷ John Wessel Gransfort (d. 1489) taught a detailed “ladder of meditation” consisting of three parts, reminiscent of earlier approaches: the first contained ‘preparatory’ steps that enabled one to focus on a chosen subject and ignore distractions; the second involved ‘ascending’ steps for the training of the mind, judgment and will; and the third consisted of final steps by which one entrusted the fruit of the meditation—ideally, pious affections—to the care of God.¹⁸ This strategy was closely followed by a French reformer and associate of the Low Countries’ *devotio moderna*, John of Mombaer (or *Mauburnus*, 1460–1501). His *Rosetum Exercitiorum Spiritualium et Sacrarum Meditationem* drew on the teachings of several writers, especially those of

¹⁴ Pourrat, *Christian Spirituality*, 10–12; quote on 13.

¹⁵ Pourrat, *Christian Spirituality*, 13.

¹⁶ Otto Gründler, “Devotio Moderna”, in *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation*, ed. Jill Raitt, Bernard McGinn, and John Meyendorff, World Spirituality (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 179.

¹⁷ Gründler, “Devotio Moderna”, 190. A similar ministry, accommodating the service of laypeople, was maintained by the religious at Syon Abbey, on the Thames, up until the Reformation; see Emaon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400–c.1580* (London: Yale University Press, 1992), 86.

¹⁸ Pourrat, *Christian Spirituality*, 14, n. 6; 15.

French scholar and mystic, John Gerson (1363–1429). The *Rosetum* introduced various mnemonic strategies for meditation, employing a more consciously methodical approach than anything previously devised.

Garcia Ximenes de Cisneros and Ignatius of Loyola both played crucial roles in the development of the methodical, ascetic spirituality that characterised much of sixteenth-century Catholicism. Each took in hand the material of generations past and streamlined it to achieve a very specific result in their students. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Cisneros, a Benedictine, reformed the Abbey of Montserrat, requiring the monks there to partake of his own *Spiritual Exercises*, or *Ejercitatorio de la Vida Espiritual*. This text seems to have been one of the important sources for Loyola's own *Spiritual Exercises*.¹⁹ The latter visited Montserrat in 1522, soon after his initial conversion experience in Loyola, and likely followed Cisneros's *Exercises* under the direction of Dom Chanones there. The stated purposes of each spiritual leader were virtually identical. Each sought to enable those who followed their methods to overcome sinful behavioural patterns and enter a life of willing service to God. "The monk," wrote Cisneros,

who desires to bring back from Jericho to Jerusalem his soul made in the likeness of God . . . that is to say, to tear it away from instability and disturbance, to restore it to quietness and peace—such a monk, I say, must imitate David's example, and correct and purify his soul by spiritual exercises, setting it free from vice and sin and from all disorderly affections. Then only will it be able to receive heavenly graces and gifts.²⁰

Loyola explained his use of the term *exercises* in a similar vein:

The term 'spiritual exercises' denotes every way of examining one's conscience, of meditating, contemplating, praying vocally and mentally, and other spiritual activities, as will be said later. For just as strolling, walking and running are exercises for the body, so 'spiritual exercises' is the name given to every way of preparing and disposing one's soul to rid herself of all disordered attachments, so that once rid of them one might seek and find the divine will in regard to the disposition of one's life for the good of the soul.²¹

¹⁹ Pourrat, *Christian Spirituality*, 18, 27-29.

²⁰ *Exercices Spirituels et Directoire des Heures Canoniales*, trans. Joseph Rousseau (Paris: 1902); in Pourrat, *Christian Spirituality*, 18-19.

²¹ *The Spiritual Exercises*, in St Ignatius of Loyola, *Personal Writings: Reminiscences, Spiritual Diary, Select Letters Including the Text of the Spiritual Exercises*, trans. Joseph A. Munitiz and Philip Endean (London: Penguin, 1996), Annotation 1., 283.

To achieve his goal Cisneros set out a three-week program of daily scheduled meditation. Each week was specially designed and featured a unique repertoire of subjects for reflection, to carry the monk through the purgative, illuminative or unitive phase of development. During the first week, meditation was scheduled after Lauds on subjects such as death, hell, the Judgement and the Passion. God was to be thought upon as an exacting Judge, angry at sin. After purification had been achieved, the exercitant was ready to enter the second week and pursue illumination. Meditation was then scheduled after Compline on creation, elevation to the supernatural order, justification, blessings personally experienced and other subjects. Those who went on to the unitive stage were told to meditate on the divine perfections. Among other things, God was to be considered as the principle of all things, the beauty of the universe, sovereign charity, and supreme in liberality. Like many before him, Cisneros spoke of a kind of contemplation one might achieve at this level that exceeded normal mental functions. To elaborate on this method, he added a fourth part to his *Exercises*, borrowing heavily from Jean Gerson's *De Monte Contemplationis*. Throughout the work Cisneros prescribed specific bodily gestures to be made, such as kneeling, signing the cross or beating one's breast in contrition. He typically described meditation as consisting of three parts: the first involved recollection and analysis of the subject at hand; the second required the cultivation of an appropriate affective or emotional response; and the third took the form of prayer, expressing this response to God. The devotee was to conclude by reciting a Psalm and an additional prayer, dismissing him- or herself in a state of reflection on the exercise. With each successive week and stage, Cisneros allowed exercitants more freedom to alter prescribed means, according to their own needs and experience. Pourrat describes Cisneros as a bridge between medieval asceticism and the full flowering of sixteenth-century Catholic piety, represented by Loyola.²² A review of the younger Spaniard's work will reveal the similarity between his method and that of Cisneros.

Like Cisneros, Loyola devised a program of spiritual reform for his followers that required four weeks of focused prayer, meditation and self-examination. In keeping with the classic traditions of the church, he conceived his *Spiritual Exercises* as a means of moving the devout through the purgative, illuminative and unitive

²² Pourrat, *Christian Spirituality*, 18-21.

stages of spiritual experience.²³ At the same time, Loyola's program focused more profoundly on the life and role of Christ than that of his predecessor, and it included a more detailed explanation of the psychology of Christian spiritual experience than any divine had written previously. In an age of religious upheaval and diversification, Loyola's ability to clarify mystical realities would prove especially timely. To his instruction on the devotional meditations that comprised the heart of his *Spiritual Exercises* were added auxiliary lessons on the discernment of psychological states (designated by the term "spirits"), allegiance to the Catholic Church, prayer and even alms-giving. Because of his ability to explain the wisdom inherited from the church's more ancient ascetics in the early modern context, and as a result of the widespread influence of the Society he founded, the form of meditation Loyola taught in his *Exercises* influenced almost all others that were expressed in the literature of the Catholic Reformation.²⁴

As mentioned before, the goal of his *Spiritual Exercises* was to enable participants to discover and enter into the course of life God chose for them, unhindered by the normal interference of carnal temptations and attachments. All of this was to take place under the supervision of an experienced spiritual director. (The text of the *Spiritual Exercises* was essentially a guide for the director administering them.) A typical day in the program consisted of five one-hour exercises. Most of these exercises were comprised of three sections. During the first, one petitioned God for assistance and imagined him- or herself in a given setting, in order to prepare for the meditation to follow. Loyola explained this 'composition' as follows:

For contemplation or meditation about visible things, e.g. a contemplation about Christ Our Lord who is visible, the 'composition' consists in seeing through the gaze of the imagination the material place where the object I want to contemplate is situated. . . . e.g. a temple or a mountain where Jesus Christ or Our Lady is to be found, according to what I want to contemplate. Where the object is invisible, as . . . in the present instance dealing with sins, the composition will be to see with the gaze of the imagination and to consider that my soul is imprisoned in this body which will one day disintegrate, and my whole composite self as if exiled in this valley among brute beasts.²⁵

²³ See Annotation 10 of the *Spiritual Exercises*.

²⁴ Writes Roberts: "Although a number of methods of meditation were proposed by various spiritual writers during the Counter Reformation, they almost all reproduced in one way or another the fundamental procedures inculcated by St. Ignatius of Loyola"; *A Critical Anthology of English Recusant Devotional Prose, 1558-1603*, Duquesne Studies. Philological Series, 7 (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1966), 21.

²⁵ Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises* (1996), First Week: The First Exercise, Preamble 1, 294-95.

The exercise's preparatory phase ended with a prayer for what one hoped to gain from the exercise: guilt and contrition over sins, discernment to guard against the devil's schemes, sorrow over the hardships of Christ, joy over his Resurrection, etc. The second section comprised the core of the exercise and consisted of a period of meditation over a given subject, the themes of which changed each week. During the first week one reflected on subjects such as sin and hell, which promoted contrition over sins and submission to Christ. In the case of the fifth exercise, repeated each evening during the first week, the technique of 'composition' was expanded to involve all the senses as one imagined the grim fate of the damned:

Point 1: This will be to look with the eyes of the imagination at the great fires and at the souls appearing to be in burning bodies.

Point 2. To hear with one's ears the wailings, howls, cries, blasphemies against Christ Our Lord and against all the saints.

Point 3. To smell with the sense of smell the smoke, the burning sulphur, the cesspit and the rotting matter.

Point 4. To taste with the sense of taste the bitter things, such as tears, sadness and the pangs of conscience.

Point 5. To feel with the sense of touch, i.e. how those in hell are licked around and burned by the fires.²⁶

The second, third and fourth weeks focused respectively on Jesus' early life, his ministry and Passion, and his Resurrection glory. Meditations were structured around a handful of points for consideration. Usually these were short summaries or citations from the Gospels. On the first day of the third week, for instance, devotees were to reflect on the Last Supper. After imagining the scene and drawing profit from the thoughts and words of the conversations overheard there (Points 1-3), one was told

Point 4. To consider what Christ Our Lord suffers in his human nature, or is willing to suffer . . . ;

Point 5. To consider how the divine nature goes into hiding, i.e. how Christ as divine does not destroy his enemies, although he could do so, but allows Himself in his sacred human nature to suffer most cruelly.

Point 6. To consider how He suffers all this for my sins, etc, and what I myself ought to suffer for him.²⁷

²⁶ Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises* (1996), First Week: The Fifth Exercise, 298-99.

²⁷ Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises* (1996), Third Week: First Day, The First Contemplation, 321-

Meditation during these daily one-hour exercises led participants to their third and final phase. They were to conclude by expressing their thoughts to God the Father or Christ or the Virgin Mary. During these “colloquies” one was urged to lift one’s most pressing needs and petitions to God, as revealed through the course of the preceding meditation.

John Roberts has remarked that Loyola’s work “is but a summation and articulate synthesis of various methods of meditation that had been in existence in the Church for centuries and which still exerted a strong influence in the sixteenth century”. At the same time he admits that many of the writings in his own *Critical Anthology of English Recusant Devotional Prose*—works examined in the next chapter—were merely “adaptations and amplifications” of Loyola’s approach.²⁸ The influence of the *Spiritual Exercises* was substantial. As will become evident in subsequent phases of this study, Catholic and Protestant devotional writers would emulate many aspects of Loyola’s relatively clear, systematic method in years to come. According to Terence Cave, Loyola’s efforts effectively redeemed ascetic discipline from the condemnation of Catholic authorities, who had become suspicious of anything suggestive of mysticism. He writes: “Loyola’s task was to place prayer and meditation on a securely orthodox footing, to provide a clear-cut framework, and thus to justify personal reflection as one of the central aspects of Christian life in both monastic and lay circles.”²⁹ And yet Loyola was not the only figure who sought to defend and promote classic devotional practices, as explained below.

I.C. The Cultivation of Lay Piety

During the early sixteenth century there were many in the Catholic Church who felt that the religion of most laity was too anæmic, and that it must be renewed in order to preserve the institution as a whole. Humanist writers like Erasmus and religious spokesmen like Loyola shared the conviction that more must be required of

²⁸ Roberts, *Critical Anthology*, 25-26.

²⁹ Terence Cave, *Devotional Poetry in France c. 1570-1613* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 5.

Catholics than mere compliance with the church's rites and ceremonies.³⁰ Roberts points out that to many, "The survival of the Catholic faith rested on the hope that the divine command, 'Be ye perfect, as also your heavenly Father is perfect,' (Matt. 5:48) would be heeded by laymen as well as by monks and nuns." To some extent, he says, the focus on ascetic discipline (that is, on human effort) among Catholic devotional writers represented a reaction to the Protestant emphasis on salvation by faith alone;³¹ yet it surely also arose from the personal experiences of reformers like the Spanish Dominican Luis de Granada (1505–1588), who believed discipline was a potent means to bring psychological and spiritual change. Granada lamented the widespread superficiality of belief in the church, which he attributed to a lack of familiarity with spiritual disciplines like meditation:

And for want hereof [of meditation], we see that many Christians, which are yet very whole and sound in matters of faith, be yet in their lives very licentious and dissolute. . . . They believe generally . . . all such things as the Catholic Church believeth. They believe that there shall be a judgment, that there shall be pains for the wicked, and glory for the good: but how many Christians shall we find, that do consider after what sort this judgment, these pains, and this glory shall be, with other the like circumstances?³²

Early modern Europeans commonly saw the religious conflicts that spread through the Continent as manifestations of divine punishment. Devotional exercises were viewed by some as a remedy for the ensuing distress, and as a means to propitiate divine wrath.³³ That many in leadership felt there was a pressing need to train the laity in religious matters is also evidenced by the number of related reforms for which church leaders campaigned at Trent, and the widespread effort to implement the council's declarations after it adjourned. Among other things, it was decreed that bishops must catechize their parishioners and preach at each mass and holiday feast. Figures like Charles Borromeo (1538–1584), archbishop and reformer of Milan, gained a reputation for the enthusiasm with which they took up the Tridentine charge;

³⁰ A. G. Dickens and Whitney R. D. Jones, *Erasmus the Reformer* (London: Methuen, 1994), 93; see also Michael Questier, "'Like Locusts All over the World': Conversion, Indoctrination and the Society of Jesus in Late Elizabethan and Jacobean England", in *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 1996), 276–78.

³¹ Roberts, *Critical Anthology*, 8, 12.

³² Luis de Granada, *Of Prayer, and Meditation*, trans. Richard Hopkins (Paris: 1584), 3–4.

³³ This was the view of the Henri III of France. See Cave, *Devotional Poetry*, 9; and see David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England*, 1st Harvard University Press paperback ed. (Harvard University Press, 1990), *passim*.

while those bishops who found it difficult to match his fervour in educating their dioceses often found help from eager Jesuit and Capuchin recruits.³⁴ More than mere lessons in official doctrine, an increasing number of the faithful were exposed to the classic ascetic habits of the monastic communities, through these instructors.

To some degree, the lay pursuit of a deeper religious life in the early modern period built on traditions that originated during the later Middle Ages, such as the spirituality that developed around penitence and various types of devotions. During the late medieval period, even before the conveniences of the printing press, a growing number of laypeople had begun to pursue a level of piety that surpassed mere weekly attendance at Mass. This was largely a result of the growth in importance of the general confession, which The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) had made obligatory for all the church's members. For many, the process of preparing for and making confession became a means of organizing the spiritual life. A plethora of manuals was written to assist in the act, and a "growing literature of penitence and compunction" soon became popular among the literate.³⁵ Alongside this increased penitential interest, there was a rise in what Richard Kieckhefer calls "devotionalism": a preoccupation with certain sacred themes (the Passion of Christ, Mary, the cult of the saints and the Eucharist) expressed through art, literature and various practices (prayers, vigils, pilgrimages, etc.).³⁶ Copyists from the Brethren of the Common Life and Carthusian orders helped to disseminate the texts that facilitated these devotions. Admittedly, the piety that late medieval Christians practiced was unlike that of their sixteenth-century descendants in some ways. It manifested in more public and collective forms, such as confraternities, pilgrimages and festivals, and was less cumbered by the supervision of the clergy. Catholic reformers would help to promote a more individual, interiorized faith that could be controlled by leadership within the parish network. "The customs, observances, and devotions which had represented diversity and popular beliefs", writes Luria, "would

³⁴ A. D. Wright, *The Counter-Reformation: Catholic Europe and the Non-Christian World* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982), 52-53, 44.

³⁵ Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 60.

³⁶ Richard Kieckhefer, "Major Currents in Late Medieval Devotion", in *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation*, ed. Jill Raitt, Bernard McGinn, and John Meyendorff, World Spirituality (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), passim.

give way to those which represented unity and approved doctrine.”³⁷ Nevertheless, the devotions of the medieval period were precursors to many of the spiritual routines of early modern Catholics, like self-examination and meditation on the Passion. As Kieckhefer notes, medieval devotions had been “a mixture of clerical and lay initiative”. As such, these devotions foreshadowed the individualism that would characterise spiritual practices (and much else) in the modern West.³⁸

The coming of print and the attending rise in literacy meant that increasing numbers of those outside the monasteries and convents of Europe found access to devotional teaching that had formerly been the exclusive possession of the educated religious. What is more, there were a number of clergy who were eager to explain their spiritual methods to the uninitiated in a way they could understand—even when that required communicating in the vernacular. When print was introduced, a flood of religious works designed to aid the clerical and lay devotee poured forth:

liturgical books to serve the parish churches, letters of indulgence for hospitals, gilds, and other charities, a vast range of devotional and didactic tracts, designed to promote traditional piety and a better knowledge of the faith and practice of Catholicism. . . . pamphlets advocating the merits of the rosary, treatises on a good death or providing comfort and reassurance for troubled consciences, visions and revelations about Purgatory . . . the fourth book of the *Imitation of Christ* (on the Blessed Sacrament), [and] a series of individual saints’ lives, some of them, like the life of St Werburge, St Thomas, or Joseph of Arimathea, designed to promote pilgrimage to particular shrines.³⁹

At first the majority of these works reflected the interests of the educated elite, or laity from the upper classes who could afford them. As Andrew Pettegree has shown, the sale of Latin texts was an international enterprise that monopolized the print industry into the sixteenth century, when vernacular works began to wedge into the market.⁴⁰ Catholics were more hesitant than Protestants to publish vernacular religious works, but their willingness to do so was spurred once the threat of Protestantism was acutely

³⁷ Keith P. Luria, “The Counter-Reformation and Popular Spirituality”, in *Christian Spirituality: Post-Reformation and Modern*, ed. Louis Dupré, Don E. Saliers, and John Meyendorff, World Spirituality (New York: SCM, 1990), 93-94.

³⁸ Kieckhefer, “Major Currents”, 101.

³⁹ Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 78.

⁴⁰ Andrew Pettegree, “Printing and the Reformation: The English Exception”, in *The Beginnings of English Protestantism*, ed. Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 161-62.

felt.⁴¹ Cave cites a significant increase in the number of religious handbooks produced in French between 1550 and 1570, which was followed by an even greater upsurge, when “the full range of foreign and Latin devotional works—those of the Cologne Charterhouse and their mystical forebears, of the Spanish mendicants and Jesuits, of Italians . . . as well as the patristic and medieval treatises of Augustine, Bernard, Bonaventura and so on” became available in French. These works represented the newer, more ascetic and more individual-focused piety that was beginning to eclipse the older Catholicism. He mentions another, related novelty that accompanied the proliferation of these texts; namely, the entrance into the industry of lay translators and publishers, most of whom favoured the writings of Spanish divines like Granada over those by other European writers.⁴² Italy, Germany and the Netherlands experienced similar phenomena. In England, however, all but a small, elite handful were ignorant of these kinds of devotional guides prior to the 1570s, due in large part to the nation’s relatively immature print industry, its modest literacy rate, and certain political factors, all of which are discussed in later sections of this chapter.⁴³

In spite of some censure from church authorities, several devotional books eventually found widespread appeal in Catholic Europe. Luis de Granada took pains to convince those whose responsibility it was to preserve the church’s institutional integrity that he was pursuing the same goal, albeit by a slightly different route. In spite of the fight he waged preaching and writing against Protestantism and Spain’s Gnostic *Alumbrados*, Granada found his first two devotional guides censored by the Spanish Inquisition of 1559. The Inquisitor Melchior Cano accused Granada of “trying to make contemplatives and perfect Christians out of everyone”, and of “teaching a way of perfection to the laity, who are not in the state of life that calls for the evangelical counsels of poverty, chastity and obedience”.⁴⁴ Some feared that his works would engender mysticism akin to that of the *Alumbrados*. His *Libro de la Oracion y Meditation* and *Guia de Pecadores* had to be revised, and were republished

⁴¹ Christopher W. Marsh, *Popular Religion in Sixteenth-Century England: Holding Their Peace* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1998), 140; see also Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 80.

⁴² Cave, *Devotional Poetry*, 7-8.

⁴³ “English print culture was both relatively modest and relatively simple, being overwhelmingly concentrated in London and Westminster—a contrast to the dispersed culture of print that was the pattern in most major Continental societies”; Pettegree, “English Exception”, 158 and *passim*.

⁴⁴ From the brief “Biographical Note” by Jordan Aumann in Luis de Granada, *Pathways to Holiness*, trans. Jordan Aumann (New York: Alba House, 1998), xii.

in 1567.⁴⁵ Loyola had encountered similar suspicions from Rome in the process of forming his Society. In spite of such setbacks, ascetic lay guides like Granada's gained popularity throughout Europe during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I in England. Some were older works that had been written for the religious community, but now found an audience among the laity, such as Thomas à Kempis's (1380–1471) *Imitation of Christ*; but most were the work of sixteenth-century ascetics who wished to share their spiritual expertise with the wider church, like the Spanish Franciscan Diego de Estella (1524–1578), whose *Libro de la Vanidad del mundo* was first published in 1562, and Gaspar Loarte, a Spanish Jesuit who lived most of his life in Italy, where he wrote his *Essercitatio della vita christiana*, published in 1569.

II. English Catholics in the Elizabethan Period: Exile and Renewal

When Mary I took the throne of England in 1553, a number of prominent English Protestants left the country, in anticipation of the restrictions and the peril they would face if they stayed. While abroad they supported one another and gleaned what they could from Swiss and German co-religionists. Most scholars would affirm that the experience intensified their doctrinal convictions and led to the creation of a corpus of writings that would inspire those who shared their faith for many years, the most obvious being the Geneva Bible. The transferal of power to Mary's Protestant sister set in motion a very similar exodus of influential Catholics, who like their spiritual adversaries, congregated together under the shelter of trusted European friends in places where scholarship and training could thrive without hindrance. They shared the same impulse to preserve among their countrymen the faith they cherished, though they must labour outside their homeland. Finally, like their Protestant predecessors, these Catholic exiles availed themselves of pen and press in order to fulfill their mission, finding new inspiration for their writings in the heart of Europe. Their contribution to the religious literature of the period would be profound, as subsequent chapters will demonstrate.

English Catholics were forced into an agonizing dilemma with the accession of Elizabeth I, as they were required by the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity to

⁴⁵ Pourrat, *Christian Spirituality*, 95-96.

affirm her civil and religious headship together.⁴⁶ The first of these nearly all could (and did) dutifully uphold, but the affirmation of the second proved a stumbling block.⁴⁷ This test exposed an array of different levels of commitment among those that had comprised a unified body when Catholic rites were law. The terms *church papist* and *recusant* have traditionally been used for Catholics expressing greater and lesser conformity with the new situation, though more recently scholars have acknowledged the inability of these terms to account for the full breadth of responses expressed by Elizabethan Catholics.⁴⁸ This diversity was in part a result of the fact that Rome did not provide counsel to English Catholics on a sanctioned course of action until several years into Elizabeth's reign.⁴⁹ In the wake of the Protestants' ascendancy, some chose to leave England and find relief among fellow Catholics on the Continent; others stayed but refused to conform, facing consequences as difficult as exile or worse. The rest compromised with the new ecclesiastical arrangement, while remaining faithful to the old faith in some manner, even if it were exclusively private and internal. One Lady Monteagle had on different occasions both the official service and the mass read in her home, by her chaplain and a priest of her acquaintance. This continued until she learned of the papal stance on conformity. Another Catholic came to the required services, but instead of participating, it was complained he would "sett contemptuously reading on a booke (most likely some Lady psalter or portasse which have been found in his pue)".⁵⁰ Lay Catholics were sometimes aided by priests who served in the new church but also administered the old rites in secret, as "biconfessional incumbents".⁵¹

In terms of government legislation and liturgical practice, the first decade after the change was easier for English Catholics than those that would follow. Eamon

⁴⁶ A. C. Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose, 1559–1582* (London: Sands, 1950), 15.

⁴⁷ On the prevailing political loyalty of the English Catholics, especially during the early years of Elizabeth's occupancy, see Peter Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise: The Political Thought of the Elizabethan Catholics*, Cambridge Studies in the History and Theory of Politics (Cambridge University Press, 1982).

⁴⁸ See e.g. Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell [for the] Royal Historical Society, 1993).

⁴⁹ A decree affirming the unlawfulness of attendance at official services was issued in 1563, but little effort was made to publicize it until the priest Lawrence Vaux traveled to Lancashire to do so three years later; Christopher Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge University Press, 1975), 252; cited in Peter Marshall, *Reformation England, 1480–1642* (London: Arnold, 2003), 171, n. 5.

⁵⁰ Philip Caraman, *The Other Face: Catholic Life under Elizabeth I* (London: Longmans, 1960), 62; Patrick McGrath, *Papists and Puritans under Elizabeth I* (New York: Walker, 1967), 107.

⁵¹ Adrian Morey, *The Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth I* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1978), 105; the term is used in Walsham, *Church Papists*, 15.

Duffy alleges that “the continuing presence in the parishes during the first decade or so . . . of a majority of the Catholic clergy, administering the traditional rites of passage in something approximating to the traditional way, was undoubtedly one of the decisive factors in carrying the population at large along with the changes”.⁵² Still, during this time the Catholic community—if one may speak of such a thing⁵³—was sorely disorganized, due to the loss of some clergy and the lack of papal guidance mentioned above. Several churchmen and scholars left England because of the Elizabethan religious statutes, and as a result of the visitations that were decreed for the two universities in 1559. A. C. Southern lists nineteen prominent fellows from Oxford and six from Cambridge who left, affirming the validity of Catholic controversialist Nicholas Sander’s complaint that “the very flower of the two universities, Oxford and Cambridge, was carried away, as it were, by a storm, and scattered in foreign lands”.⁵⁴ Events following this initial period led to increasing friction between Catholics and the state, and stirred up fear and suspicion among non-Catholics. Before long it became apparent to the Council that Roman Catholicism would not be driven from the general population or the universities with ease, even after a 1563 act demanded conformity on a more extensive basis. The presence of Mary Queen of Scots in England from 1568, the coup of the two Northern earls, the papal bull *Regnans in excelsis* of 1570 and a series of foiled assassination plots in (sometimes uncertain) connection with the queen’s cousin exacerbated tensions. In 1574 the first Catholic “seminary priests” arrived in England, creating additional anxiety for authorities. Before discussing the mission of these priests and their connection with the distribution of Catholic devotional literature in England, though, the lives and plans of those who chose exile over compromise will first be considered.

⁵² Eamon Duffy, “Continuity and Divergence in Tudor Religion”, in *Unity and Diversity in the Church*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Oxford: Blackwell [for the Ecclesiastical History Society], 1996), 180-81.

⁵³ See John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd Press, 1975), 1-12; he asserts that it was not possible for Catholics to cohere as a community until the founding of the seminary in Douai in 1568, which enabled the return of the seminary priests to England.

⁵⁴ Nicholas Sander, *The Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*, trans. David Lewis (London: Burns & Oates, 1877), 261; cited in Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, 22; and see T. F. Mayer, “Sander, Nicholas (c.1530-1581)”, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)*, online ed. (Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24621>> (31 July 2008).

"The most vigorous Catholicism of these years", writes Alan Dures, "was among the expatriates on the continent, particularly at Louvain."⁵⁵ Many of the scholars who were driven by conscience from Oxford and Cambridge, along with a number of prominent bishops and other clergy, left England and settled in the university towns of Europe. Louvain, in the Spanish Netherlands, became a favoured haven for the learned because of its proximity to England and the reputation of its university. In addition to its strength in theological studies, it carried an association in the minds of English Catholics with the figure of Thomas More, whose legacy now held special significance. The exiles formed two houses at the university, named for Oxford and Cambridge, and beginning around 1565, Nicholas Sander organized what came to be called the Louvain School of Apologetics there, to promote and defend the Catholic faith. He was assisted by the likes of John Marshall, Thomas Stapleton, Thomas Harding and William Allen, all of whom played important roles in the history of English Catholicism in succeeding years.⁵⁶

A sizeable number of gentry also left England, though it cost them. A government license, not easily procured, was required to depart. Expatriates who did not return when summoned risked losing their property and falling under deeper suspicion of the state.⁵⁷ Acknowledging these hazards, many left England with hopes of a brief sojourn abroad and a hasty return. In light of the changes they had seen in their lifetimes to this point, it is not difficult to understand their optimism. A change of sentiments, a marriage or death for the queen might have brought a change of fortune for them. But loathe to wait idly, some exiles took advantage of their time abroad and sought energetically to speed the redemption of England from what they perceived an insidious but temporary scourge of heresy.

From 1564 to 1568 the Louvain group produced some forty printed works. A few of these were devotional in scope, but most were polemical treatises. According to Southern, the exiled scholars' aims were spiritual, cultural and educational; they sought to preserve the faith of English Catholics without and within England during

⁵⁵ Alan Dures, *English Catholicism, 1558-1642: Continuity and Change*, Seminar Studies in History (Harlow, England: Longman, 1983), 17.

⁵⁶ Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, 25-26.

⁵⁷ Morey, *Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth I*, 98; Morey cites the example of Sir Francis Englefield, an exile who refused to return in 1563. His estates were confiscated and granted to the Earl of Leicester, whereupon Englefield became a pensioner of Philip II of Spain and an active participant in politics.

the time of their religious captivity.⁵⁸ Though in terms of volume it would seem they initially favoured controversial writings to spiritual, they always recognized that both could be employed for the same basic ends: to raise the morale of despairing but sincere believers, to awaken the lukewarm who lapsed towards conformity, and perhaps to cause even heretics to repent of their folly and return to the old faith.⁵⁹ “Books opened the way for a change of heart among Catholics”, claimed William Allen, “for in these books, written in a way adapted to popular understanding, almost all the frauds of the heretics . . . were made remarkably clear; so that not only by the learned but by the popular voice we were judged to be superior to those whom we opposed.”⁶⁰

There were two major polemical battles between Protestants and Catholics during the Elizabethan period. Even though the former group enjoyed the endorsement of the Crown, the religious allegiance of the bulk of the population was uncertain. For this reason these contests were zealously exploited by both sides in an attempt to win the hearts of the people.⁶¹ The second of these conflicts would be provoked at the start of the 1580s by the mission of English Jesuits Robert Persons and Edmund Campion, discussed in a later chapter. The first confrontation was initiated at the very inception of the Elizabethan Settlement by John Jewel, the newly elected Bishop of Salisbury.⁶² Jewel preached a sermon in 1559 which challenged Catholics to prove the legitimacy of their church, using ancient sources:

If any learned man of all oure adversaryes, or if all the learned men that be alive be hable to bring, any one sufficient sentence, oute of any olde catholique doctour, or father: Or oute of any olde generall counsell: Or oute of

⁵⁸ Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, 14. He cites Pierre Janelle, *Robert Southwell, the Writer: A Study in Religious Inspiration* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1935), 2.

⁵⁹ This last ambition was not wholly unrealistic, as conversions were known to occur in both directions: William Reynolds initially assisted the chief Protestant controversialist and Bishop of Salisbury, John Jewel, until he was won over by the arguments of Jewel’s arch-opponent, Thomas Harding, and became a Catholic apologist himself; and Lewis Evans was a Catholic polemicist and translator until he renounced his Catholicism and returned to England to write as a Protestant apologist. See Peter Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age* (London: Scolar, 1977), 23, 20.

⁶⁰ T. F. Knox, ed., *The Letters and Memorials of William, Cardinal Allen* (London: 1882), 25; cited in Morey, *Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth I*, 103.

⁶¹ This point is highlighted by Peter Lake and Michael Questier, in *The Antichrist’s Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (Yale University Press, 2002), 255–63; these frantic publicity campaigns, they say, show that the public were more interested in religious issues than Christopher Haigh and other revisionists imply—otherwise ideologues would not have wasted the effort; see Haigh, *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge University Press, 1987).

⁶² See John Craig, “Jewel, John (1522–1571)”, in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14810>> (1 Aug 2008).

the holye scriptures of God: Or ani one example of the primitive Church, wherby it may be clearly & plainly proved, that there was ani private masse in the whole world at that tyme, for the space of sixe hundred yeares after Christ: Or that there was then ani Communion ministred unto the people under one kind: Or that, the people had theire commen prayers then in a straunge tonge. . . . [Jewel proceeds through twenty-seven different articles] . . . If any man alive were hable to prove, any of these articles, by ani one clear, or playne cause, or sentence, eyther of the scriptures: or of the olde doctors: or of ani olde generall Counsell: or by ani example of the primitive church: I promised then that I would geve over and subscribe unto hym.⁶³

Following a round of exchanges between Jewel and the deposed dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Henry Cole, a battle in print erupted—"the Great Controversy"—which involved a number of notable scholars from both sides.⁶⁴ Throughout the 1560s, Thomas Harding was Jewel's main sparring partner. Harding, who had been Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, had shown interest (alongside Jewel) in Protestant ideas under Henry VIII and Edward VI, but retracted his Protestantism under Mary I.⁶⁵ He and the bishop now fought on two fronts: one developing from Jewel's 1559 sermon, the other from his written defence of the Elizabethan church, the *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, which he first published in 1562. Their exchanges provoked a handful of lesser challengers to join the fray, including Catholics William Allen, John Rastell and Thomas Dorman, and Protestants Edward Dering, Alexander Nowell and William Fulke. The various apologies, replies, refutations and rejoinders they wrote addressed the legitimacy of the Mass, episcopal succession, purgatory, papal and monarchical supremacy and the like. After a decade of clashes and the deaths of Jewel and Harding in 1571 and 1572, the controversy waned considerably.

In 1568, civil strife in the Low Countries and William Allen's establishment of a seminary in the French-speaking town of Douai brought the work at Louvain to an end. The publication of books did not cease, however. In fact, the 1570s saw the same basic output of English Catholic works as the previous decade—but with a difference. Where polemical treatises had accounted for seven-eighths of this total previously, they now comprised only half, alongside an equal number of devotional

⁶³ John Jewel, *The Copie of a Letter Sente from D. Cole to the Bishop of Sarum*, 1560, sig. F5v et seq.; quoted in Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, 60.

⁶⁴ Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, 31, 60–118; and see T. F. Mayer, "Cole, Henry (1504/5–1579/80)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5851>> (1 Aug 2008).

⁶⁵ See L. E. C. Wooding, "Harding, Thomas (1516–1572)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12264>> (1 Aug 2008).

writings.⁶⁶ This would seem to suggest a shift in strategy for the exiled community, undoubtedly facilitated by the passing of the Great Controversy's two leading figures. While argumentative works were thought necessary, some questioned their ability to positively nurture the spiritual lives of English Catholics. Even Thomas Harding was led to conclude, after the greatest part of the storm with Jewel had passed, that apologetic pieces were inferior to spiritual counsel in certain respects. Around 1568 he urged his fellow Oxford exile, Richard Hopkins, to translate into English some of the works of the Spanish divines who had become popular in Europe.⁶⁷ Hopkins recalled Harding's advice later on, in the introduction to his translation of Granada's *Of Prayer, and Meditation* (1582):

And it is nowe about foureteene yeares agoe, since the time that Master Doctor Hardinge (a man for his greate vertue, learninge, wisdom, zeale, and sinceritie in writinge againste heresies, of verie godlie and famous memorie) perswaded me earnestlie to translate some of those Spanishe bookes into our Englishe tounge, affirminge, that more spirituall profite wolde undoutedlie ensewe thereby to the gayninge of Christian sowles in our countrie from schisme, and Heresie, and from all sinne, and iniquitie, than by bookes that treat of controversies in Religion which (as experience hath nowe plainelie tried) doe nothinge so well dispose the common peoples myndes to the feare, love, and service of almightie God, as bookes treatinge of devotion, and howe to leade a virtuous life doe.⁶⁸

While the option of writing debate treatises was by no means forgotten, a new tool for salvaging the faith of English Catholics—the lay devotional manual, infused now by the spirit of the Catholic Reformation—was beginning to be acknowledged and exploited.

English Catholics on the Continent produced just three works that might be considered devotional during the first decade of the reign of Elizabeth I. Notably, these do not represent an accurate foretaste of the types of devotional writings that would appear in successive decades, for they deal with basic doctrinal education, and

⁶⁶ Laura G. Musselwhite gives these figures: for the 1560s, 3 devotional works and 25 polemical; for the 1570s, 12 devotional and 14 polemical. The 1580s would see another surge of polemical writings, in the wake of the Jesuit mission of Persons and Campion. See "A Word to the Gentle Reader: Elizabethan Catholic Devotional Literature" (Ph.D. diss., Georgia State University, 2005), 7.

⁶⁷ Hopkins went on to translate a handful of the ascetic treatises featured in this study. See G. Martin Murphy, "Hopkins, Richard (b. c.1546, d. in or before 1596)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13752>> (1 Aug 2008).

⁶⁸ Luis de Granada, *Of Prayer, and Meditation* (Paris, 1584), sig. A7v-8r; Hopkins's translation of Granada's text is discussed in some detail later in the next chapter.

show relatively little interest in higher ascetic pursuits. One was a fairly popular catechism by the former fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Lawrence Vaux, one a guide to meditation on the rosary, and one a work that some do not even consider devotional: a lengthy treatise by Nicholas Sander on the propriety of the Roman Eucharist, *The Supper of Our Lord*.⁶⁹ Among the texts that appeared during the 1570s were several collections of arranged prayers and meditations, a small handful of rosary guides and catechisms, and two ascetic treatises or “spiritual directories”: a sub-genre of devotional literature that gained prominence in the later Elizabethan and Stuart periods, among both Catholics and Protestants. Ascetic treatises laid out instruction for a pattern of holy living which was reminiscent of the monastic rule, promoting a form of asceticism that was suited to the lives of laypeople.⁷⁰

Devotional books complemented the unique and challenging circumstances of stalwart English Catholics who sought to maintain some semblance of traditional religious adherence under the restrictive Elizabethan statutes. Catholics were denied any right of public liturgical observance. Only those who lived in certain outlying regions of the country, beyond the supervision of government, were excepted. Sympathetic clergy were spread thin in their service, even after the coming of the Continental seminary recruits in the mid-1570s, and the Jesuits in the 1580s. Each year brought increasing government pressure to conform. Catholic piety in England became a more individual affair, by necessity; families and small communities often gathered for worship in the homes of sympathetic gentry. Concerned leaders were put upon to nurture the careworn spirits of older souls, and to instruct the young and unlearned in the rites and the significance of Roman Catholic belief. Gone were most of the images, pilgrimage sites, feasts, confraternities and other fixtures of medieval Catholicism. Living under the practical implications of Protestant ascendancy, Catholics found themselves in need of that sturdy vitality that had been forged in the furnace of reformist ambition and confessional conflict over previous decades, and expressed in the writings of figures such as Loyola and Granada. Encouragement

⁶⁹ Laurence Vaux, *A Catechisme of Christian Doctrine* (Louvain: 1567); Anon., *The Rosarie of Our Ladie* (Antwerp: 1565); and Nicholas Sander, *The Supper of Our Lord* (Louvain: 1565); Southern categorizes Sander's text as apologetical (*Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, chap. 3, 94-98), while Musselwhite includes it in her thesis on Elizabethan Catholic devotional literature (“A Word to the Gentle Reader”, appendix, 285).

⁷⁰ This genre is discussed in more depth in chapter 3.

came in part through the doctrinal assurance they gathered from the apologetic works of Thomas Harding, John Rastell, John Dorman and others; but during the last quarter of the century, they turned increasingly to compositions of Catholic Reformation spirituality.⁷¹ Translated ascetic treatises by Spanish and Italian figures were introduced into the corpus of the English exiles during the late 1570s, following the foundation of the Douai seminary by Cardinal William Allen. His place in the history of the seminary movement and the Jesuit mission to England warrants a brief review of his work here.

Allen was a fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, when Mary I became queen, and rose to the positions of Principal of St Mary Hall and Proctor of the university thereafter. He left for the Netherlands after Elizabeth I came to power, but was compelled in 1563 to return to his native Lancashire, to recover from a severe illness contracted overseas. While there he was vexed by the compromise he witnessed in the religious behaviour of many Catholics, and set about to promote a more zealous, recusant sentiment among them, through private dialogue and public discourse. During this itinerant period, Allen formulated a series of articles justifying the Catholic faith that would later provoke great debate among Elizabethan controversialists, and serve as a kind of charter for the priests who came to England under his direction. Allen returned overseas after two years and wrote some controversial texts there, but he soon became convinced such writings could not achieve all that circumstances required. The university at Douai had been established in 1559, and had welcomed the many English Catholics who came to its halls to further their education over the years; but it did not offer ecclesiastical training. After the exiles' work at Louvain was disrupted, Allen made plans, with the Belgian Catholic-Reformation activist John Vendeville, to start a seminary in Douai that would offer "regiment, discipline, and education most agreeable to our Countymens natures, and for prevention of al disorders that youth and companies of scholars (namely in banishment) are subject unto".⁷² While not overtly expressed at first, Allen's hope of training priests at the college for immediate return to England soon

⁷¹ Alexandra Walsham discusses how devotional literature helped to shape English Catholicism after Elizabeth's accession, in her essay, "'Domme Preachers'?: Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print", *Past & Present* 168 (2000): 72-123.

⁷² William Allen, *An Apologie and True Declaration of the Institution and Endeavours of the Two English Colleges* (Rheims: 1581), 19; cited in Eamon Duffy, "Allen, William (1532-1594)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/391>> (6 March 2007).

became preeminent.⁷³ The need for assistance in England was felt more intensely after the Jewel-Harding debates had passed, and the events that culminated in the excommunication bull brought the activity of Catholics under closer scrutiny. The seminary's design for preparing missionary clergy quickly came to the fore.

Though its inhabitants were poorly funded, the reputation of Douai College grew rapidly, and by the 1580s it was perceived as the first Tridentine seminary.⁷⁴ The paucity of its resources complemented its austere regimen and ethos, which helped instill in graduates a fitting seriousness for their charge. This was to Allen's liking. The curriculum was relatively pragmatic, though it retained liberal elements. Students received thorough training in disputation, scholastic theology, church history, biblical languages and Scripture; and they were familiarized with the gamut of casuistic issues they would encounter among English Catholics, who were challenged by questions of conscience on a regular basis.⁷⁵ Douai ordained its first four priests in 1573—Lewis Barlow, Henry Shaw, Martin Nelson and Thomas Metham—and sent them to England a year later.⁷⁶ They carried with them copies of Allen's articles, mentioned above, which were now recorded in a *Book of Motives* written by Richard Bristow, Allen's assistant. The articles took different forms in various works printed over the next decade. Rhetorically, these points were presented as questions or "demaundes" put to Protestants:

First I aske of the protestant what Church that was, which converted all these countries that be now Christian, to the faith of Christ? . . . I aske of him, what Church it was, which hath induced the Christian people through the whole worlde, to geve most humble credit in all points, to the holy bookes of the Byble? . . . What Universities, Schooles, or Colledges, did you ever erect . . . Let any Protestant in the worlde, prove unto me, that their church could rightly be called Catholike, which was so particular, that no man alive coulde name a place where any such church was.⁷⁷

⁷³ More generally, Allen hoped the seminary could preserve the cultural and spiritual tradition of English Catholicism, and help stock priests for a future restored Catholic England; see Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, 26-27.

⁷⁴ Duffy, "Allen, William (1532-1594)", in *ODNB*.

⁷⁵ McGrath, *Papists and Puritans*, 110-11; and see Morey, *Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth I*, 107.

⁷⁶ McGrath, *Papists and Puritans*, 111.

⁷⁷ From the Protestant William Fulke's *Two Treatises Written Against the Papistes* (London, 1577), 1, 4, 52, 95. Fulke was responding to Allen's articles, which he said he had seen in written form some eight or nine years before. For a full presentation of the controversy that includes an exhaustive list of related printed works, see Milward, *Religious Controversies (Elizabethan)*, 39-46.

Allen's articles provided a boon to the missionaries who traveled back to England, and to the struggling flock they attended there. Douai's trainees tended to be more militant in approach than the Marian clergy who remained from the previous generation. Around 100 priests came before 1580. Their surreptitious arrival disquieted Protestant polemicists and government officials. As a result, the Council sought to make conformity with the official church more difficult to avoid. Visitations became more comprehensive. Fines and punishments previously drawn up were now enforced with more consistency. A 1577 decree directed all bishops to compile lists of recusants in their dioceses. That year also saw the trial and execution of Cuthbert Mayne, the first martyr among the seminary priests.⁷⁸ Allen and his colleagues were well-pleased with the firstfruits of their mission. Though the assessment may have been inflated, he reported that he had been told "the numbers of those were daily restored to the catholic church almost surpassed belief". One priest, Fr. Henry Shaw, wrote of Lord Burghley's irritation at the results of the mission, saying "The number of Catholics increases so abundantly on all sides that he . . . has privately admitted to one of his friends that for one staunch Catholic at the beginning of the reign, there were now, he knew for certain, ten."⁷⁹ "It seems clear", Patrick McGrath comments, "that the main battle had been lost in the first dozen years of the reign, but the seminary priests came in time to fight a brilliant rearguard action and to rally the declining and wavering ranks of English Papists."⁸⁰

Clergy and laypeople alike had assisted in the smuggling of Catholic books into England from early in the Elizabethan reign, but the coming of the Douai priests brought a sizeable boost to this dangerous enterprise. The Crown forbid the importation, circulation, and possession of such texts through various proclamations against "seditious" books, dated 1569, 1570, 1573, 1584 and 1588.⁸¹ Nevertheless, presses in Spain, France, the Low Countries, and England itself continued to work, and daring couriers made sure their wares reached the intended audience. Polemical works like Bristow's "Book of Motives" (1574) and Gregory Martin's *A Treatise of Schisme. Shewing, That Al Catholickes Ought in Any Wise to Abstain Altogether from*

⁷⁸ McGrath, *Papists and Puritans*, 117-18.

⁷⁹ T. F. Knox, *The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay, and an Appendix of Unpublished Documents*, 2 vols. (London: David Nutt, 1878), lxii and 98; cited in McGrath, *Papists and Puritans*, 112.

⁸⁰ McGrath, *Papists and Puritans*, 113.

⁸¹ Musselwhite, "A Word to the Gentle Reader" 8, n. 11.

Heretical Conventicles (1578) were brought over and distributed, along with devotional helps like the *Dialogue of Cumfort against Tribulation* of Thomas More (originally written in 1534 and reprinted in 1573) and *A Briefe Fourme of Confession, Instructing All Christian Folke How to Confesse Their Sinnes* (1576).⁸² They were shipped to conspiring recipients in parcels containing other items, or stowed in the bags of merchants who supported the Catholic cause. The priests themselves believed that the conveying and disseminating of literature was an important part of their mission, alongside teaching, hearing confession and the administration of the sacraments. Southern mentions a communication about their activity which was delivered to Walsingham by his agent, Nicolas Berden, who reported that priests

most commonly doe come over in French boates that come to Newcastell for Coales, whoe do lande the sayd Preists either at Newcastell, or in some Creeke nere to the same. They make Choyse of that place the Rather for that Robert Higheclyf her Ma^{ty} officer at Newcastell is a papiste in harte & made acquaynted with there comynge, & that his wyef is and hathe bynne a papiste this iii or iiii yeres, and that by her Directions the sayd preists with there bookes do passe in Securitie.⁸³

Another letter, written by a priest, describes the covert work of distribution that regularly transpired in London:

The way is, all of them are taken to London before any is published, and then they are distributed by hundreds or fifties to the priests, so that they may be published all together in all parts of the realm. And the next day, when the pursuivants usually begin to search the Catholics' houses, it is too late; for during the night the young gentlemen have introduced copies into the houses, shops, and mansions of the heretics, and even into the court, and the stalls in the streets, so that the Catholics alone cannot be accused of possessing them.⁸⁴

⁸² Richard Bristow, *A Briefe Treatise . . . Conteyning Sundry Worthy Motives vnto the Catholike Faith* (London: 1574); Gregory Martin, *A Treatise of Schisme. Shewing, That Al Catholickes Ought in Any Wise to Abstain Altogether from Heretical Conventicles* (London: 1578); Thomas More, *A Dialogue of Cumfort against Tribulation* (London: 1573); *A Briefe Fourme of Confession, Instructing All Christian Folke How to Confesse Their Sinnes* (London: 1576); cited in McGrath, *Papists and Puritans*, 113.

⁸³ Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, 36, n. 2; he cites the Catholic Record Society, vol. XXI, 72 et seq., from a document endorsed 13 April, 1585.

⁸⁴ Richard Simpson, *Edmund Campion: A Biography*, (London: J. Hodges, 1896), 289-90; cited in Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, 37, n. 1.

Accounts like these lead one to believe that in spite of the risk of ownership, Catholic texts of doctrine and devotion were distributed throughout England, and were in some demand.⁸⁵

The reading of such literature by Catholics is an interesting subject in itself, but this project is mainly concerned with the interest taken to such works by English Protestants: not just Protestant layfolk, whose powers of theological discernment (and tastes) were relatively undeveloped, but Protestant clergy as well. The following chapter provides a description of the Catholic ascetic treatises, and this is followed by a description of the growing collection of religious texts that were on offer in England at the midpoint of Elizabeth's reign, when books bearing the marks of Catholic Reformation spirituality first made their appearance there.

⁸⁵ Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, 39-43; the reaction of the Protestant clergyman Edmund Bunny to the popularity of a Jesuit devotional text in his parish, discussed at length in chap. 5, supports this claim.

CHAPTER 3

THE CATHOLIC ASCETIC TREATISES: TITLES AND TRAITS

The teaching of Ignatius Loyola, Luis de Granada and other sixteenth-century ascetic guides was consistent with the spiritual traditions of their medieval religious forebears, but it was specially honed to address the needs and interests of early modern lay readers. The manner in which these and other authors' writings were taken up, translated by English Catholics and conveyed to speakers of their "vulgar and mother tongue" has been briefly discussed.¹ Here, the unique spiritual pedagogy that characterised these Catholic ascetic writings is described in more detail. First, nine English translations of texts from this genre are introduced. This is followed by a discussion of some essential features of the genre, which distinguish works in this group from all other forms of religious print distributed in England during the Elizabethan period. Later chapters elaborate on the distinctive shape of these Catholic treatises, and discuss the different ways that Protestants responded to the novel teaching they discovered in them.

The texts presented here were part of a literary genre that could be conceived as both old and new in their English context: old because its roots lay in the spirituality of medieval religious communities; new because the political ascendancy of English Protestantism had erased almost all memory of this literature among Elizabethans.

I. The Catholic Ascetic Treatises

I.A. Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ* (many eds., 15th and 16th c.)

The first work of note among the Catholic ascetic treatises is exceptional for two reasons: it is the oldest of these works, having been written well over a century before the others; and it found a wide readership in England, Catholic and Protestant, long before the other texts were introduced there. The *Imitation of Christ*, written by

¹ Diego de Estella, *The Contempte of the World, and Vanitie Thereof*, trans. George Cotton ([Rouen]: 1584), sig. A2r.

the fifteenth-century exponent of the *devotio moderna*, Thomas à Kempis, has been included here because its ascetic themes dovetail with those found in the other Catholic books mentioned, despite à Kempis's less methodical approach.

Thomas à Kempis probably composed this work around the time of his priestly ordination at the monastery of Mount St Agnes, in Zwolle, near the beginning of the fifteenth century.² It is constructed around the motif of imitation—the pursuit of perfection and blessedness through the imitation of Christ, in his earthly humility, obedience and suffering—an approach which had been observed since the earliest days of the church, and which had grown in popularity during the medieval period. Otto Gründler comments on the significance of à Kempis's contribution, calling it “a *summa spiritualitatis*”, representing “the confluence of the thoughts expressed by the masters of medieval spirituality on the theme of imitation”.³ The *Imitation* is divided into four sections or “books”, each of which contains several meditative essays on a number of related topics. The third book features a series of dialogues between the disciple and Christ. Each of the first three books corresponds to one of the ancient three ways discussed in the previous chapter: purgative, illuminative and unitive.⁴ The fourth gives instruction on observing the Eucharist, employing the same dialogue format as the third.

Many aspects of à Kempis's teaching were appealing to Protestants, but he stood firmly within the stream of medieval monastic-ascetic teaching, as did the Common Life movement of which he was a part. Like the treatises discussed below, his *Imitation* prescribes a life carefully ordered by ascetic discipline, which leads to blessed union with God through Christ. At the same time, it is more discursive in format, lacking the didactic organization that the other ascetic manuals display. Aspects of the treatise indicate it was probably intended for other religious in training (like the author), providing material for meditation.⁵ As such, à Kempis bypasses much of the fundamental spiritual instruction prevalent in the other treatises described here, most of which were written specifically for laypeople. His text addressed the spiritual intermediate, as can be seen in the perfunctory manner in which the author discusses ascetic exercises. One chapter, entitled “Of the exercises of a good religious

² Leo Sherley Price, introduction to Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*, trans. Leo Sherley-Price (London: Penguin, 1952), 22.

³ Gründler, “Devotio Moderna”, 183.

⁴ Price, introduction to Kempis, *Imitation*, 14-17.

⁵ Gründler says this was the purpose of most of his writings; “Devotion Moderna”, 183.

person”, says nothing about the technique involved in these activities, focusing instead on the importance of their consistent devotional observance: “And our special hinderaunce is this, that we so lightlye leave off our good exercises that we have used to doo before time: for it is seldome seene, that a good purpose willfully broken may be recovered agayne without great spiritual hinderance.”⁶ The *Imitation* has had timeless appeal in the church ever since it was first composed. Ian Green notes the striking fact that between 1504 and 1696, some thirteen English translations of the work appeared, five of which were edited by Protestants.⁷ It was first published in Latin in 1470 or 1475. William Atkinson produced the first English version, and he was followed by Bridgettine monk and author, Richard Whitford.⁸ Protestants Edward Hake and Thomas Rogers then published purged versions of the *Imitation*, which are examined in detail in chapter 5. Hake, Rogers and other Protestants published the *Imitation* without the fourth book (on the Eucharist) attached, or with a less controversial piece added instead. The Elizabethan period saw at least eleven editions of the work in all.⁹

I.B. Gaspar Loarte, *The Exercise of a Christian Life* (1579)

The first ascetic treatise to be translated into English and published by an Elizabethan exile was *The Exercise of a Christian Life*, composed originally by the Spanish Jesuit, Gaspar Loarte (1498–1578). Loarte, who spent most of his life in Italy, was motivated to write by the need he saw among laypeople for instruction on the ascetic disciplines: “I have for this cause thought good, to gather in this short Tretise the principal exercises which every Christian is bound to use”, he wrote, “that by spending his time laudably therein, he maie have hope to obtain Gods divine grace,

⁶ Thomas à Kempis, *The Following of Christ, Translated out of Latin into English*, trans. Richard Whitford (n.p.: 1585), sig. D3r.

⁷ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 306.

⁸ According to Corinne R. Berg, Atkinson translated three books of the *Imitatio Christi* from a French edition that was attributed to Jean Gerson. He did so at the command of Margaret Beaufort, countess of Richmond and Derby, mother of Henry VII, who later translated the fourth book of the *Imitation* herself. Atkinson’s edition was published in 1502, by Wynkyn de Worde, and the complete version with her addition was printed by Richard Pynson, in 1504. See Berg, “Atkinson, William (d. 1509)”, in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/859>> (31 July 2008). On Whitford, see J. T. Rhodes, “Whitford, Richard (d. 1543?)”, in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29308>> (31 July 2008); and Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 86–87.

⁹ White, *Tudor Books*, 28–29.



and by meanes thereof, come afterwarde to enjoye eternal felicitie, which is the ende, whereto we are created.”¹⁰ His manual offers basic instruction on both vocal and “mental” prayer, the latter having been a common synonym for meditation. The teaching found in *The Exercise* is consistent with that of Loyola, encouraging reflection on the life and Passion of Christ as part of a scheduled regimen of devotion.

Loarte speaks at length about the temptations encountered by those who resolve on a holy life and provides specific remedies for each one. He advises those who are drawn to pride, for example, to consider several truths: how much God and most people detest the proud in heart, one’s own weaknesses of body and mind, the transitory nature of riches and the humility of Jesus, Mary and other saints. He also prescribes humble service to others and a modest habit of dress. Loarte’s text concludes with chapters on the means of bearing sickness in a godly way and on dying well, consistent with the medieval *ars moriendi* tradition, discussed in the next chapter. Short expositions of the Apostles’ Creed, Ten Commandments, Pater Noster and Ave Maria were also included.

Loarte’s treatise was originally published in Italian as the *Essercitatio della vita Christiana*, in 1569. A decade later it was translated by an English layman, Stephen Brinkley (fl. 1584). Brinkley was a law student and a great admirer of the Jesuits’ piety and service. He dedicated his translation to them, as he explained, in return for their gift of “the copie, the counsail, and other commodities, to translate this woorthie Treatise into our English tongue”.¹¹ Brinkley enhanced Loarte’s work with a handful of additional prayers, written by some friends of his in the Jesuit Order. His real name does not appear in the text, and he used the pseudonym “James Sancer”. His dedication ends, “At Paris, the 20. of June. 1579”, a reference most likely contrived to deceive.¹² A. C. Southern believes the English *Exercise* was published secretly in London.¹³ Brinkley’s role in its translation was later confirmed by the English Jesuit Robert Persons, who cooperated with him in the establishment of the illegal Greenstreet Press, in Essex. William Carter, the likely printer, was eventually

¹⁰ Gaspar Loarte, *The Exercise of a Christian Life*, trans. Stephen Brinkley (n.p.: [1579]), sig. 3r.

¹¹ Loarte/Brinkley, *Exercise* (1579), sig. 2r.

¹² Loarte/Brinkley, *Exercise* (1579), sig. 2v.

¹³ Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, 389-90.

captured and executed for his clandestine service.¹⁴ Brinkley and Persons would share an additional literary connection, which will be mentioned presently.

I.C. Robert Persons, *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise, Appertayning to Resolution* (1582)

Robert Persons trained for the priesthood in William Allen's Douai seminary, and both men went on to plan the first English Jesuit mission to England, launched in 1580.¹⁵ Persons himself joined Edmund Campion in this well-known but ill-fated venture, which ended with Campion's capture and execution.¹⁶ Persons returned to the Continent the following year, and considered new strategies for saving England from heresy. Having been inspired by Brinkley's edition of Loarte's *Exercise*, he decided to produce an introduction for the work. Loarte's purpose had been to instruct spiritual novices in the basic exercises of piety, but Persons realised there were many who had not even responded to the call of faith, much less cultivated an appetite for ascetic training. His "introduction", which soon grew too long to serve as a preface to Loarte's treatise, was designed to persuade readers to commit their lives to God, in preparation for the more advanced work Loarte described. Accordingly, he entitled it *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise, Appertayning to Resolution*. Eventually Persons hoped to write a third book to address "the meanes of perseverance . . . all kynde of prayer, bothe mentall and vocall [and] . . . the wayes and meanes, how (by help of gods grace) we may resist and overcome all sorts of sinne, & the temptations therof".¹⁷ Published in 1582, the "*Resolution*" was extremely popular, and even inspired a Protestant copy whose success excelled its own.¹⁸

As one might expect, the teaching in Persons's book closely mirrors that found in the initial stages of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*. Both were devised to effect a

¹⁴ Joseph Gillow, *A Literary and Biographical History, or Bibliographical Dictionary, of the English Catholics, from the Breach with Rome, in 1534, to the Present Time* (New York: B. Franklin, 1885-1902), III., 298-300.

¹⁵ See Victor Houlston, "Persons [Parsons], Robert (1546-1610)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21474>> (11 June 2008).

¹⁶ See Michael A. R. Graves, "Campion, Edmund [St Edmund Campion] (1540-1581)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4539>> (1 Aug 2008).

¹⁷ The busyness of Persons's life apparently prevented the creation of a third book.

¹⁸ Church of England clergyman Edmund Bunny produced the Protestant edition. Persons's and Bunny's versions are discussed at length in chap. 5.

detachment from worldly moorings, and enable devotees to pursue higher, spiritual ends. “I doubt not,” Persons wrote optimistically, “but God maye so pearse . . . mennes hartes before they come to the ende, as their myndes may be altered & they yealde them selves unto the humble & sweete service of theyr lorde and saviour”.¹⁹ The *Resolution* lays out, in somewhat protracted form, “the causes and reasons that should move a man to resolve hym selfe to the service of God: And all the impedimentes removed, which may lett the same”, as its subtitle attests. It is divided into two parts. The first provides various “helpes of resolution to serve God”—short, hortatory meditations on the reasonableness of submission to God and the folly of remaining indecisive in religion, claiming “How necessarie it is at this day, to enter into earnest consideration and meditation of our estate”, and discussing “the severe accounte that we must yelde to God of the matters aforesayed” and “the paynes appointed for sinne after this lyfe, & of two sortes of them”.²⁰ The six chapters in the second part of the book address the obstacles encountered by those who seek to yield themselves to divine service, such as indwelling sin, the trials of life, worldliness and presumption of God’s mercy. Persons offers cures for each of these temptations, which are quite similar to the remedies found in Loarte’s work. Robert Persons and his famous *Resolution* are revisited in the next chapter.

I.D. Luis de Granada, *Of Prayer, and Meditation* (1582);
A Memoriall of a Christian Life (1586)

Towards the end of his life, Spaniard Luis de Granada summarised the lessons of his career as a spiritual director, by noting that Scripture “teacheth us two principal things, to praie, and to woorke; unto which two, be reduced al others what-soever”.²¹ This understanding was reflected in Granada’s writings, where ascetic and ethical pursuits were often addressed in tandem, as indivisible constituents of a healthy Christian life. Granada entered the Dominican Order in 1524, at the age of twenty. After several years of study in Valladolid, he went on to positions of monastic

¹⁹ Robert Persons, *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise, Appertayning to Resolution* ([Rouen]: 1582), 14.

²⁰ The second, fifth and ninth chaps. of pt. 1, respectively.

²¹ Luis de Granada, *A Spiritual Doctrine, Containing a Rule to Live Wel*, trans. Richard Gibbons (Louvain: 1599), sig. 6r.

leadership, first as Prior of the Escala Coeli Convent near Córdoba, then as the provincial of his order in Portugal. He was also confessor to the Queen of Portugal, Doña Catalina. In 1572, he retired to the Convent of Santo Domingo in Lisbon, and spent his final years in prayer and silence, and in writing.²² He died in 1588.

Granada is considered one of the great Spanish mystical writers of the sixteenth century, along with SS. Teresa of Avila and John of the Cross.²³ During and after his lifetime, he was admired among Catholics on the Continent. His work was fairly well-received in England, as well: the *Short-Title Catalogue* records some twenty English editions of his writings, representing eight titles, for the Elizabethan period alone.²⁴ Remarkably, only five of these twenty editions came from Catholic presses; the majority were published in England, legally.²⁵ Just two of these eight titles are discussed here, because four were comprised of material from other works by Granada, one cannot be attributed to him with certainty, and one does not share the characteristics of the ascetic genre discussed in this chapter.²⁶

²² Edgar A. Peers, *Spanish Mysticism: A Preliminary Study* (London: Methuen, 1924), 90; cited in Roberts, *Critical Anthology*, 112, n. 1.

²³ Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, 197.

²⁴ See Alfred W. Pollard and others, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640*, 2d. ed., 3 vols. (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976), 2:121–22. The eight titles were *A Breefe Treatise . . . Commonly Called, the Conversion of A Sinner* (London: n.d.); *Of Prayer, and Meditation*, trans. Richard Hopkins (Paris: 1582); *A Memoriall of a Christian Life. Wherein Are Treated All Such Things, as Apperteyne Unto a Christian to Doe*, trans. Richard Hopkins (Rouen: 1599); *The Sinners Guyde. A Worke Containing the Whole Regiment of a Christian Life*, trans. Francis Meres (London: 1598); *Granados Spirituall and Heavenlie Exercises*, trans. Francis Meres (London: 1598); *Granados Devotion. Exactly Teaching How a Man May Truly Dedicate and Devote Himselfe unto God*, trans. Francis Meres (London: 1598); *A Spiritual Doctrine, Containing a Rule to Live Wel*, trans. Richard Gibbons (Louvain: 1599); and *The Flowers of Lodowicke of Granado. The First Part. In Which is Handled the Conversion of a Sinner*, trans. Thomas Lodge (London: 1601).

²⁵ Catholic editions of Granada's writings: *Of Prayer, and Meditation*, published twice, in 1582 (Paris) and 1584 (Rouen); *A Memoriall of a Christian Life*, also published twice, in 1584 (Rouen) and 1599 (Rouen is cited on the title-page, but this edition was probably published secretly in England [Roberts, *Critical Anthology*, 112, n. 1]); and *A Spiritual Doctrine*, published in 1599 (Louvain). A brief description of the figures who edited and republished Granada's books in England, and their treatment of his writings, is provided in chapter 5 of this paper, in the section entitled "Late Elizabethan Republication Efforts".

²⁶ *The Conversion of a Sinner*, published three times by sanctioned English presses, appears to draw from material in the first two treatises of Granada's *Memoriall of a Christian Life*, which offer an "Exhortation to good life" and instruction on the sacrament of penance, respectively (see Granada, *Memoriall* [1599], 55–204); *The Flowers of Lodowicke of Granado*, published in 1601, was merely Thomas Lodge's Latin-to-English translation of *The Conversion of a Sinner*; *Granados Devotion*, edited by Francis Meres and published in 1598, was a revision of the second part of Granada's *Of Prayer, and Meditation*; and *A Spiritual Doctrine* was an abridged compilation that Granada had published, in 1587, using material from three other works: *Of Prayer, and Meditation*, *A Memoriall of a Christian Life*, and *The Sinners Guide* (see Roberts, *Critical Anthology*, 212, n. 1).

This student has not been able to identify a source for *Granados Spirituall and Heavenlie Exercises*, which was published by Francis Meres, legally, in 1598 and 1600; despite a comparison between this text and the others by Granada cited here, those reprinted in *Obras del V.P.M. Fray Luis*

Both of the works featured here—*Of Prayer, and Meditation* and *A Memoriall of a Christian Life*, first published in English in 1582 and 1586, respectively—were translated from Spanish to English by Richard Hopkins.²⁷ Hopkins was a wealthy gentleman who studied at St Albans Hall, Oxford, until religious conflict compelled his departure. He studied law at the Middle Temple until 1566, when he left England for Louvain, seeking full liberty of conscience. There he befriended Thomas Harding, the famed Catholic apologist, who offered him some career advice. Following Harding's counsel, Hopkins journeyed to Spain, enrolled in a university there and worked to gain fluency in Spanish. He later moved to Paris, where he published his translation of Granada's *Of Prayer, and Meditation*. Granada's *Memoriall* was printed later, in Rouen. Several works by other authors were brought into English by Hopkins's pen. Throughout his life, he provided generous financial support for the Catholic exile community, especially its missions in England.²⁸

Granada had shaped both of these guides for lay readers. While he acknowledged the advantage of receiving instruction from a priest or preacher, he recognized that many had little or no access to such help. In these circumstances, with which English Catholics were certainly familiar, texts like these serve as substitutes for clerical help: "For all theise causes the readinge of devout Catholique bookes is verie profitable", Granada noted, "for somuch as they be unto us as it were domme preachers".²⁹ *Of Prayer, and Meditation* was centred around a programme of morning and evening meditations, filling one week. Mornings were to be spent reading various Gospel passages on the Passion, which Granada included, and reflecting over certain points from the Bible narrative. Evenings were devoted to more introspective

de Granada, vols. 6, 8, 11, *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*. (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1944–45), and the other Catholic ascetic treatises discussed in this chapter. *Granados Spirituall and Heavnelie Exercises* offered a week-long regimen of daily meditations on theological subjects, but the order in which these subjects were arranged differs from those found in Granada's other writings. It is possible that Meres composed this regimen himself, using material from Granada's works. Alternatively, he may have copied a text by another author and mistakenly attributed it to Granada. Identification of the work's true source will require more research.

Finally, *The Sinners Guyde*, Meres's translation of Granada's *Guía de Pecadores* (n.p.: 1567), published legally in 1598 and 1600, was a lengthy discursive treatise, dealing with the attainment and practice of virtue. While it contained material on topics covered in the ascetic treatises of Granada and others, such as prayer and meditation, *The Sinners Guyde* did not elaborate on an ascetic method. John A. Moore notes that "Granada probably thought of *Sinner's Guide* somewhat as we think of a textbook. . . . It lends itself to summarizing or to memorizing of excerpts representing the whole"; *Fray Luis de Granada* (Boston: Twayne, 1977), 40. As such, this text has not been grouped with the other Catholic ascetic works described here.

²⁷ See n. 67 on Hopkins, p. 42.

²⁸ Gillow, *Literary and Biographical History*, III., 385–88.

²⁹ Granada, *Memoriall* (1599), 12.

subjects, such as confession of sin, the misery of temporal life, the Final Judgment and the glories of Heaven. Granada provided lengthy reflections of his own, but these contained many suggestions for readers, designed to transfer the skill of meditation to them. Scholars of devotional literature will note this work's similarity to late medieval texts like Cisneros's (and later Loyola's) *Spiritual Exercises*, which also focused on the life of Christ, and especially the Passion. Granada's text was augmented with extensive teaching on both exercises mentioned in its title. He outlined and explained "Five Parts That Maie Be Exercised in Prayer", reminiscent of the *lectio divina*, including preparation, reading, meditation, thanksgiving and petition.

Granada's *A Memoriall of a Christian Life* was more ambitious in scope than the former work, itself a lengthy writing. As a comprehensive manual of devotion comprised of seven treatises, and divided into two volumes, it purported to achieve the very thing Robert Persons had envisioned with his "three books", leading an individual from conversion to the acquiring of ascetic habits and to perseverance unto death. The *Memoriall* even addressed those who wanted to pursue the higher reaches of spiritual possibility, in its seventh and final treatise, "Of the love of God, wherein consisteth the perfection of the christian life". However, the second volume of the work, which contained this teaching, as well as instruction on vocal and mental prayer, was never published in England. As a result, readers there were presented with a treatise similar to Persons's *Resolution*, which had also been left unfinished. The English *Memoriall* urged the unrepentant to turn to God and to begin to seek holiness of life through the Sacrament of penance and preparation for "the most blessed Sacrament of the Alter".³⁰ In its final section, a "rule of good life" was laid out, comprised of fundamental principles for godly living,:

He that desireth earnestly & with all his heart to serve God . . . must understand, that the principall, & totall summe of all this so great and waighty busines . . . doth essentially consist in one only thing, which is, to have in his soule, a very firme and determinate purpose, never to commit any deadly sinne, for any thing in the world. . . . It helpeth likewise very much for a man to examine his conscience every night before he sleep. . . . It helpeth also very much to this end, not to suffer thy mind to be entangled with overmuch love of visible things whether they be honours, landes, goodes, children, kinsfolke, or frindes &c.³¹

³⁰ Granada, *Memoriall* (1599), sig. A1v.

³¹ Granada, *Memoriall* (1599), 621-22, 635, 647.

Here readers also learned specific remedies for diverse temptations they faced. The work concluded with instructions for the spiritually advanced, on the development of virtues such as charity and on the imitation of Christ. Granada's first publication had been a Spanish translation of à Kempis's famous *Imitation*, and it was a commonplace in ascetic teaching to view Christ's life as the terminus of spiritual development, so it is not surprising to find this motif used in the *Memoriall*.³²

I.E. Diego de Estella, *The Contempte of the World, and the Vanitie Thereof*
(1584)

In 1584, another Spaniard's work was published in English. Diego de Estella was a Franciscan preacher of some renown in his homeland. His *Libro de la Vanidad del Mundo* was first published in Toledo in 1562, and over the next twenty years it reappeared in Italian, French, English, Latin and German. *The Contempte of the World*'s popularity is a testament to the ongoing strength of the *contemptus mundi* tradition within ascetic spirituality, and the Christian faith itself, during the early modern period. George Cotton, the English translator of the work, conceived "the perfect and true love of God, and contempt of the world" to be "inseparable companions", noting that "wee can not love God, but if we contemne the world, nor contemne the world as wee ought, if wee love not God".³³ Little is known about Cotton, but it is possible he was the gentleman by that name whose home in Warblington, Hampshire, was used to shelter priests during the Elizabethan period. He paid the annual two-hundred-pound fine against recusants for over two decades, and died in Winchester jail.³⁴

Estella's treatise is similar to the *Imitation of Christ* in form, though its scope is restricted to the topic of detachment from the world. Each of its three sections are comprised of several short meditations and exhortations on the subject, with titles

³² Granada published his translation of à Kempis's work, which was entitled either *Contemptus Mundi* or *De Imitatione Christi*, in 1538. A modern edition exists: Kempis Tomasa, *Imitación de Cristo*, trans. Luis de Granada (Madrid: Aguilar, 1951). See Moore, *Fray Luis de Granada*, 119-21.

³³ Estella, *Contempte of the World* (1584), sig. A3r-4v.

³⁴ Roberts, *Recusant Devotional Prose*, 95, n. 1. ODNB identifies this recusant, Sir George Cotton, as the eldest brother of Henry Cotton, bishop of Salisbury, and son of the Henrician courtier, Sir Richard Cotton; see Julian Lock, "Cotton, Henry (c.1545-1615)", in ODNB <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/61738>> (1 Aug 2008).

such as, “Of the vaine end of worldly thinges”, “Of the vanitie of such as prolonge their pennance”, “Of the carelesnes wherein worldlie men doe lyve”, “That the servante of God oughte to meditate upon death” and “Of the conqueste of our selves”. Estella also addressed the temptations the faithful must combat, and the tools required for spiritual battle, such as meditation, prayer and fasting: “The shippe that carieth to greate a burthen sincketh therewithal into the bottome of the sea, & if thou doest charge thy bodie with to much meate, thou wilt drowne thy soule in the sea of sinne”, he warned. Estella’s teaching on prayer and meditation is somewhat instructive, but like à Kempis, he seems to assume a basic familiarity with these spiritual exercises in his readers. Like Granada, he was careful to avoid praising the contemplative life for its own sake, emphasizing instead the importance of love for God. “All thyne exercises, and thyne actions must be ordeyned for the true love of God,” he wrote, “and not to get the knowledge of God, making that the onely ende of all thy labor: If thou haste gotten any knowledge of God, thou must not stay there, but thou must proceede on therewithal, to gain thereby the love of God.”³⁵

I.F. Robert Southwell, *A Short Rule of Good Life* (1597); Lorenzo Scupoli, *The Spiritual Conflict* (1598); “T. H. D.”, *Nyne Rockes to Be Avoyded of Those Which Sayle Towardes the Port of Perfection* (1600)

Three other works that were published late in the reign of Elizabeth I can be grouped with the Catholic treatises listed here: Robert Southwell’s *A Short Rule of Good Life* (1596); *The Spiritual Conflict* (1598), most likely written by the Italian Lorenzo Scupoli, of the Theatines; and *Nyne Rockes to Be Avoyded of Those Which Sayle Towardes the Port of Perfection* (1600), by the anonymous “T. H. D.”³⁶ Southwell, an English Jesuit and martyr, was one of the only Catholics whose writings were published in England without censure (some of his poetic works). *A Short Rule*, which he drew up for his Catholic host in England, Anne Howard, countess of Arundel and Surrey, was a shorter piece within the genre, with just under

³⁵ Estella, *Contempe of the World* (1584), 214-15.

³⁶ Lorenzo Scupoli, *The Spiritual Conflict*, trans. John Gerard ([England]: 1598); originally published as *Combatimento Spirituale* (Venice, 1589); T. H. D., *Nyne Rockes to Be Avoyded of Those Which Sayle Towardes the Port of Perfection* ([England]: 1600); and Robert Southwell, *A Short Rule of Good Life* ([London]: 1596).

150 pages. It included lessons on prayer and meditation, an orderly guide to daily spiritual exercise, and chapters on topics such as devotion to the saints and measures for resisting temptation. According to Nancy Pollard Brown, the countess used Southwell's guide throughout her life, and copies were made for other aristocratic Catholic families, before it was printed by Southwell's companion and fellow Jesuit, Henry Garnet.³⁷

Scupoli's *Spiritual Conflict* was translated by John Gerard, another English Jesuit, whose enthusiastic service for the cause of English Catholicism earned him time in Marshalsea Prison and the Tower.³⁸ As Pourrat notes, the *Spiritual Conflict* may have actually been the product of a religious community, as it began with a core of twenty-eight chapters and was enhanced with others, less logical in their placement, in subsequent editions.³⁹ The work lays out four weapons believers must possess in order to achieve spiritual perfection: distrust of self, trust in God, the right use of the faculties of the soul and body and the exercise of prayer. Pourrat draws attention to Scupoli's debt to Ignatian methods, as well as emphases that betray the author's connection to the Italian Clerks Regular, such as the need for pure love for God, achieved through discipline.⁴⁰ Scupoli's treatment of the struggle between the divine will, reason and sense in the believer is highly psychological.

The author of *Nyne Rockes* employed a nautical theme to portray the devotee's journey towards salvation. The rocks dodged by the Christian shipman represent habits and vices such as self-love, sensuality, bitterness of heart and "immoderate studie", for which the author offers various remedies. The second half of the book was inspired by an older ascetic text, Henry de Herp's *The Ladder of Perfection*. This ladder features "nine staves, whereby a devoute Christian may clime, and ascend up to such perfection as may be attained unto in this life", which correspond to exercises commonly attributed to the purgative stage of spiritual growth in other texts.⁴¹

³⁷ Nancy Pollard Brown, "Southwell, Robert [St Robert Southwell] (1561–1595)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26064>> (23 April 2008).

³⁸ Gerard's dramatic life is discussed briefly in Roberts, *Critical Anthology*, 99–100, n. 3; see also Thomas M. McCoog, "Gerard, John (1564–1637)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10556>> (1 Aug 2008).

³⁹ Pourrat, *Christian Spirituality*, 240.

⁴⁰ Pourrat, *Christian Spirituality*, 239–46.

⁴¹ Roberts, *Critical Anthology*, 110.

II. A “New” Orientation

These texts have been grouped together because they possess features that unite them as members of a single literary family or genre, and differentiate them from other types of religious print published during the Elizabethan period. First, the authors of these treatises depicted the spiritual life as progressive and dynamic, showing sensitivity to the special needs of spiritual beginners, novices and advanced devotees. Second, these treatises offer relatively extensive teaching on spiritual exercises, which are portrayed as implements indispensable to the devotee’s spiritual progress. Special emphasis is typically placed on meditation. Third, most of the treatises include some sort of schedule or regimen, according to which these devotional exercises may be employed, on a frequent and regular basis. Fourth, in consequence of the relatively earnest form of religious observance and awareness promoted in these treatises, one may assume they appealed to a select audience of “spiritual athletes”. These four attributes are discussed at length below.

II.A. Recognition of the Christian Life as a Dynamic Progression

The *Triple Way* or *Threefold Path* has already received some attention in this study. It was a popular organizing motif during the Middle Ages, and inspired Loyola and other sixteenth-century spiritual writers. Peter Tyler notes its ancient roots in the writings of Clement of Alexandria (c.150–214) and Origen (185–254), who drew upon Scripture and Neoplatonic philosophy for the idea. Its terms—*purgation*, *illumination* and *union*—were popularized by St Bonaventure’s (d. 1274) *De Triplici Via*. Most of the Catholic manuals in this group make no direct reference to these concepts, but in all of them the Christian life is conceived as a process, with a beginning, middle and end. The structure of these texts reflect this orientation: generally, the “equipment” readers need for their pilgrimage is identified and described, in the form of spiritual exercises, after which the pathway before them is marked out. This is illustrated in the *Resolution* of Robert Persons, who was undoubtedly influenced by the *Spiritual Exercises* of Loyola. Persons planned his trio of discourses for those undergoing conversion, those learning to grow (Loarte’s

Exercise) and those intent on persevering to the end. Similarly, Granada constructed his *Memoriall* with guidance for those at all levels of spiritual maturity. The three books in Thomas's *Imitation* give "Counsels on the Spiritual Life", "Counsels on the Inner Life", and instruction "On Inward Consolation". In the first chapter of the second, he urges readers to complete the work of purgation and ready themselves for the illumination of Christ's Spirit:

If your inner life were ordered and your heart pure, all things would turn to your good and advantage. As it is, you are often displeased and disturbed, because you are not yet completely dead to self, nor detached from all worldly things. Nothing defiles and ensnares the heart of man more than a selfish love of creatures. If you renounce all outward consolation, you will be able to contemplate heavenly things, and often experience great joy of heart.⁴²

Scupoli speaks of the believer's life as a battle to be won; the writer of *Nyne Rockes*, as both a sea voyage and a ladder ascending upward. For centuries the process of spiritual formation had been analyzed, and a fixed order distinguished within the Christian's progress, to which these writers bore witness. Though they touched upon aspects of both of the higher tiers of spiritual experience, most of the works in question taught procedures that were traditionally associated with the purgative way, which was attended with deep soul-searching, confession of sins and meditation on the futility of one's former ways and the rewards of following Christ. These rites marked the entrance to the saint's path to perfection, and were most appropriate for lay readers.

II.B. Spiritual Exercises

The saints' arduous passage from strength to strength could not be achieved without the use of certain means, which God graciously ordained. Throughout the Catholic ascetic texts, activities such as the reading of holy books, meditation, prayer and fasting were held up as indispensable to the cultivation of holiness and intimacy with God. These exercises comprised the "training" implied by the term *ascetic*.⁴³ The

⁴² Kempis/Price, *Imitation* (1952), 69.

⁴³ See Louth, "Asceticism", 131.

authors of these guides offered methodical instruction for their use. The practice of spiritual exercises had been foundational to Christian monasticism, and their origins can be traced back as far as the Old Testament. The words of Loyola, quoted earlier, are worth reiterating here because they summarise the thought of the ascetic writers being discussed:

The term 'spiritual exercises' denotes every way of examining one's conscience, of meditating, contemplating, praying vocally and mentally, and other spiritual activities. . . . For just as strolling, walking and running are exercises for the body, so 'spiritual exercises' is the name given to every way of preparing and disposing one's soul to rid herself of all disordered attachments, so that once rid of them one might seek and find the divine will in regard to the disposition of one's life for the good of the soul.⁴⁴

One may observe a general order to the exercises prescribed in these manuals, but they were all meant to be revisited on occasion, as need required. Self-examination and confession were followed by penance. Then habits of reading and study, meditation, prayer and participation in the Sacrament of Communion were to be developed. Fasting served an auxiliary purpose for all of the rest. Because meditation holds a place of prominence in these works, a brief discussion of its treatment is warranted.

The authors commonly treated meditation as a form of mental prayer, as Loyola does above. Terms like *reflection* and *consideration* were also used to denote the discipline. Most of the books on this list taught a kind of discursive, kataphatic meditation that entailed prolonged concentration on a single object, idea, or group of related ideas—a form common to the first two stages of the Triple Way. *Contemplation*, used in ascetic parlance for a more apophatic, ecstatic type of meditation, was generally thought to lie beyond the reach of the lay devotee, and received far less attention in these texts, being mentioned in just three (the *Imitation of Christ*, Granada's *Memoriall* and Scupoli's *The Spiritual Conflict*).

All the same, the "lower-order" meditation taught in these treatises was fairly versatile, as Loarte's guide illustrates. It could be used before confession, to call to mind the trespasses of one's life. In preparation for prayer, readers were taught to use it to configure themselves in the divine presence: "Consider, howe when thou art in

⁴⁴ Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises* (1996), Annotation I., 283

praier, thou spekest not to the winde, nor to the walles, but standest most assuredly before the face of the living God. . . . Thinke now howe great attention and reverence is requisite, to speake and stand before the presence of so divine a Maiestie.”⁴⁵ Particular Bible narratives were brought to mind, such as the Last Supper: “Consider that humilitie inough to astonishe a man, wherewith that most high and puissant prince (into whose hands his eternal father had geven the rule of al things) bowed him selfe to washe and clense his disciples feet.”⁴⁶ At other times one could meditate on a theological concept, such as death, “howe in that houre”, for instance, “ther is a seperation and devorce to be made betwixt the soule and body; by meanes wherof the soule shal not onely be separte from the body; but also from al other thinges it loved in this life”.⁴⁷ It could also serve as a remedy for vices, such as covetousness: “Consider, if thou be riche”, Loarte recommended, “how uncertain and deceitful are al riches, renowne, and temporal treasure.”⁴⁸ He spoke very highly of the exercise, comparing the saint’s transformation via meditation to Christ’s own Transfiguration: “Even so is the soule of man in [mental] praier transfigured and chaunged by God, and the darkenes thereof turned into light, frailty into force, feare into hope, sadnes into solace, with other innumerable commodities too many to rehearse.”⁴⁹ As Charles Hambrick-Stowe has noted, Catholic devotional writers advocated the use of “composition of place”, a type of meditation by which the devotee reconstructed a biblical scene or situation with the imagination, more commonly than did Protestants, though forms of this method were used by the latter at times.⁵⁰

The authors of these texts repeatedly affirmed the power of meditation and other disciplines to rouse the affections and the will, leading to action. In fact, exercises were considered futile if they did not produce such fruits. Granada noted this point, while defending the use of prayer and meditation by the laity:

Even the laitie also, are bownde to have Faith, Hope, Charitie, Humilitie, the feare of God, contrition, devotion, and an hatred against sinne. Now seinge all

⁴⁵ Loarte/Brinkley, *Exercise* (1579), 22.

⁴⁶ Loarte/Brinkley, *Exercise* (1579), 24.

⁴⁷ Loarte/Brinkley, *Exercise* (1579), 48.

⁴⁸ Loarte/Brinkley, *Exercise* (1579), 124.

⁴⁹ Loarte/Brinkley, *Exercise* (1579), 20.

⁵⁰ See Hambrick-Stowe, *Practice of Piety*, 31-38. More recently, Susan Hardman Moore has described the role that visual imagery played in the spirituality of the puritans, as a substitute for material visual elements, while noting that the latter were not swept away as quickly or thoroughly as some have alleged; “For the Mind’s Eye Only: Puritans, Images and the ‘Golden Mines of Scripture’”, in *Scottish Journal of Theology* 59 (2006): 281-96.

these virtues be for the most parte vertues affective . . . which affections must necessarily precede of some consideration of the understanding: if this consideration be not exercised, how shall these virtues be preserved? How shall a man helpe him selfe by faith, if he do not sometymes consider such thinges, as his faith telleth him?

While discussion of exercises like these was not wholly unique to Catholic ascetic works, the systematic treatment and use of explanatory instruction were quite distinctive, as will be seen.

II.C. A Plan of Action

To give the life of spiritual discipline a more practical bent, ascetic writers commonly included a plan for cultivating devotion on a daily and weekly basis in their works. Such regulation was nothing new to the church. The practice of worshipping at regular times of the day and night dates back to Old Testament times, and it was adopted by early Christians who found inspiration in passages like Psalm 119:164—"Seven times a day I praise you for your righteous laws"—and some New Testament precedents as well.⁵¹ According to George Guiver, it was fairly common for believers in the early centuries of the church to attend weekly morning and evening worship services. After some time, these became the exclusive preserve of the clergy, whose vocation enabled the addition of observances at mid-day, at night and at 6 AM (the "first hour" or *Prime* in Latin, for which the primer, a work of some importance in this study, was later named). This rather demanding schedule was eventually standardized and came to be known as the Hours of the Divine Office. It involved the reading of the entire Psalter (usually weekly), along with other biblical and extra-biblical recitations whose number and variation grew over time. Eventually some less rigorous devotional schedules were composed in imitation of the Divine Office, such as the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary and that of the Holy Cross.⁵² The primer, which was used increasingly by laypeople during the medieval period, grew on the foundation of these smaller offices.⁵³ As mentioned in the previous

⁵¹ New International Version (NIV); see Acts 2:15, 10:9.

⁵² White, *Tudor Books*, 55-56.

⁵³ George Guiver, "Office, Divine", in *SCMDS*, 471-72; see the sub-section in chap. 4 entitled "Official: The Psalter, Primer and Book of Common Prayer" under "Prayer Books", pp. 99-103.

chapter, ascetic works such as the *Spiritual Exercises* of both Cisneros and Loyola were presented as schedules of specific prayers and meditations, designed to nurture detachment from the world and facilitate an openness to divine guidance. And of course, the church had its own liturgical calendar, of ancient origin. All of these traditions probably served as precedents for the writers who offered guides for daily and weekly devotion to their readers. In their view, occasional recourse to religious observance would not suffice. True piety required vigilant watch over one's heart. Every moment must be redeemed.

Five of the nine works in this group of ascetic treatises included some form of scheduled devotions. Southwell insisted that, "Because confusion, & an unsettled kind of life, is the cause of many sins, and an enemy to all vertue", believers must set down "some certayne order in spending [their] tyme, allotting to every hower in the day, some certaine thinge to be done in the same". He provided his readers with such an order, to govern themselves on both regular and holy days. Scupoli's *Spiritual Conflict* offered a more simple weekly schedule for use in praying to the angels and saints:

The Sunday thou shalt take the nine quiers of Angels.

Monday, S. Iohn Baptist.

Tuesday, the Patriarks and Prophets.

Wednesday, the Apostles.

Thursday, the Martires.

Friday, the Bishopps, with the Confessors.

Saturday, the Virgins, with the other holy women.

But omitte not anye day to have recourse to the glorious Virgine, to thy Angells guardian, to S. Michael the Archangel, and to som other Saint, to whom thou must have particular devotion.⁵⁴

Loarte's *Exercise* offered advice similar to that of Southwell, with chapters dedicated to "The particular order we ought to observe in our daily exercise" and "The exercises wherein a good Christian ought to occupie him selfe on holye dayes". Times of waking and retiring to bed were especially significant in these routines, as illustrated in the following excerpt from Loarte's text:

First rise in the morning so earlye as thou mayest, having before taken convenient rest and sleepe, which is had betwixt sixe and seven howres. . . .

⁵⁴ Scupoli, *Spiritual Conflict*, sig. G9v-10r.

So soone as thou art awake, it is a good and godlye devotion, before thou settle thy mind to any other thing, to offer up to God the first fruits of al thine actions, an powers of thy whole body: as for example thy heart, thinking of thy Creatour, and sighing after him: thine eyes, casting them upon some godly picture, or up to heaven: thy legges, kneeling humbly before his presence . . . and then mayest thou afterwards according as thy devotion shall teache thee, briefly geve him thanks for having preserved thee the night past, desiring him likewise to defend thee that present day from al sinne, and to geve thee grace to spende it better in his divine service.⁵⁵

Loarte, Scupoli and Granada also laid out a series of meditations for mornings and evenings in the week, reminiscent of the Ignatian programme. Granada's "Meditation for Mondaie nighte" concerned self-knowledge and sin: "This daie . . . thou must attend to the knowledge of thy selfe: and thou must use diligence to call to minde thy sinnes, & offences."⁵⁶ All evening meditations were focused on spiritual topics such as this, while mornings centred on the Passion. On Wednesday, for example, readers were told to meditate "upon the presentatiô of our Saviour Christ. . . . First, before Annas. Secondly, before Caiphas. Thirdlie, before Herode. Fourthlie, before Pilate. And afterwarde, how he was most crewellie whipped, and scourged at the pillar."⁵⁷ Plans like these enabled lay readers to achieve, or at least approach, a regularity of devotion near to that of the religious themselves.

II.D. A Select Audience

While their message was consistent with aspects of the trajectory of Catholic reform in sixteenth-century Europe, the emphasis these manuals placed on personal discipline and spiritual vigilance, to be observed beyond the liturgical service, ensured that their appeal would not extend beyond a select readership, characterised by special zeal. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Catholic reformers of the period sought to effect a transition away from the older medieval faith, which accommodated collective forms of religious observance, towards a more uniform, individual- and parish-centred piety, more easily supervised by priests and bishops. "The spirituality

⁵⁵ Loarte/Brinkley, *Exercise* (1579), sig. A8r-v.

⁵⁶ Granada/Hopkins, *Of Prayer, and Meditation*. (1584), 290.

⁵⁷ Granada/Hopkins, *Of Prayer, and Meditation* (1584), 153-54.

of the Counter-Reformation . . . centered not on groups but on individuals", Keith Luria notes; "Religious feeling would be interiorized".⁵⁸

The interior life had always been a preoccupation of Christian ascetics. It went hand in hand with the impulse, felt by some saints, to withdraw from normal social contact and pursue deeper intimacy with God, alone "in the wilderness". As Robert Hale notes, this eremitical impetus found expression in Loyola's own conversion experience.⁵⁹ For lay parishioners who read these texts, it manifested in a desire to separate from the nominal majority within the church, if only figuratively, and pursue moral and spiritual transcendence through means that had been tested and shaped by the monastic orders for many generations. Jean Leclercq has noted that the ideal of spiritual perfection which the monastics sought was the same one to which all Christians were to aspire; the key difference between the religious and the layperson was the means each used to reach this goal, and related to that, the resolve with which each pursued it. He explains:

We can say that monasticism has simply given an institutional form to practices and aspirations that were inherent in every life in Christ. In addition to the laws of the Church imposed on all, the monks made obligatory for themselves those institutions they had created within the Church. In so far, and in so far only, did they go beyond the Christians in general. . . . There was no question of a Christian ideal different from that of all, nor of a Christian life more perfect than that of the generality of Christians, *but of a complex of means destined to favor the seeking of perfection imposed on all Christians*, and to make clear and concrete certain demands of that imitation of Christ which the Gospel proposed to all men, and which, from their origin, monks have always made their essential aim.⁶⁰

In the writings listed here, the hand of ascetic expertise was extended to those who lived in the world, and who desired a degree of spiritual experience surpassing the ordinary.

Because it called for rigour, the spiritual training these writers advocated could not have appealed to the greater part of the church, though they would have been happy if this were so. Loarte wrote of his wishes:

⁵⁸ Luria, "Counter-Reformation and Popular Spirituality", 93.

⁵⁹ Robert Hale, "Eremitical Spirituality", in *SCMDS*, 280.

⁶⁰ Emphasis mine; Jean LeClercq, "The Role of Monastic Spirituality Critically Discussed", in *Protestants and Catholics on the Spiritual Life* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical, 1965), 21.

Albeit this Treatise may generally helpe al, yet meane I chiefly to speake to those Christians, who (woting the ende whereto they are created, and the rigorous accompt they must render of al their whole life, yea, of everie idle worde) desire in such sort to spende and governe their temporal life, as that afterward they maie come to obteine everlasting life. They that are this affected, shal (I hope) make their availe of such thinges as I shal here intreat of.⁶¹

Robert Persons's work was composed on the premise that most people—even most Catholics—had not fully resolved to pursue the holiness of life commended in works like that of Loarte. His *Resolution* laid out “the causes & reasons that should move a man to resolve hym selfe to the service of God”.⁶² “He shall not be crowned that doth not strive lawfully” was the warning displayed at the top of the first page of Scupoli's *Spiritual Conflict*.⁶³ These guides were not written to assist the piety of those who were content with mere church attendance, but that of the spiritual soldier, and those were willing to part with civilian comforts and engage in the battle of the soul. Participation in the church's liturgy and service to others were certainly encouraged by the ascetic writers, but their predominant focus was the cultivation of individual godliness.

Each of the works by à Kempis, Loarte, Persons, Granada, Southwell, Scupoli and “T. H. D.”, described above, possessed all or most of the characteristic features discussed here. Their writings represented an attempt to extend the traditional teaching of the ascetic communities to the Catholic Church's laypeople, and this attempt was facilitated by historical trends unique to the early modern period. Having identified the distinctive traits of these Catholic ascetic treatises, it is now possible to compare them with other texts that were sold and read in England during the Elizabethan period, with some precision.

⁶¹ Loarte/Brinkley, *Exercise* (1579), sig. 3r-4v.

⁶² Persons, *Resolution* (1582), subtitle.

⁶³ Scupoli, *Spiritual Conflict*, B1r; the reference is 2 Timothy 2:5.

CHAPTER 4

ASCETIC FEATURES IN OTHER FORMS OF EARLY ELIZABETHAN RELIGIOUS PRINT

In the present chapter, the spectrum of religious writings printed during the first two decades of the reign of Elizabeth I (1558–1579) will be described and evaluated alongside the Catholic works described in the previous chapter, in order to assess how much these “native” English texts, published legally, differed from the writings of the Catholic ascetics. The first English translation of a Catholic ascetic text, Loarte’s *The Exercise of a Christian Life*, was printed in 1579.¹ Over the following seven years, four more works from this genre appeared in England. The sample analysed here thus represents a snapshot of the titles that had been popular up to the point when these Catholic treatises were first distributed there. Books printed by England’s sanctioned presses during the latter half of the Elizabethan period, when Catholic ascetic treatises were gaining popularity (and notoriety), are discussed in chapter 6.

Before proceeding with a categorical description of early Elizabethan religious writings, it will be fitting to review some general information related to the business of print in early modern England, and its market.

I. Reading Religious Print in Early Modern England

According to more recent studies, the English print industry was a relatively immature one. The majority of publications it produced were religious in scope. Throughout the early modern period, religious texts (and non-religious ones) took on more diverse forms, and became more affordable. When the first press was opened in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, very few in England could read and write, but by the end of the sixteenth, somewhere between twenty and thirty percent of the populace was fully literate. And there were means through which even the “illiterate” could assimilate the content of religious print.

¹ Thomas à Kempis’s *Imitation of Christ* had been published in England before this date, and, one might argue, represented a lone but sturdy link connecting Elizabethans with the monastic spiritual tradition. Loarte is cited here, though, because his work was the first ascetic treatise produced by the Catholic exiles and distributed in England during the Elizabethan period.

Andrew Pettegree has noted how England's print industry was much smaller and less proficient than those that flourished in other European states, such as Italy and France, prior to and throughout most of the sixteenth century. During the first decades of English print, a considerable amount of personnel and equipment was imported, mostly from Germany and the Netherlands. And while the Protestant Reformation took hold in parts of the Continent, vernacular Protestant texts were slow to penetrate England. Most Latin books, which were used in the universities much more than vernacular texts, were printed elsewhere. According to Pettegree, business picked up during the reign of Edward VI, but when Mary I became queen, a large portion of print workers, who were Protestant in sentiment, left the country. Only after Elizabeth I took the throne did the industry begin to regain ground, and approach the level of output known in other European economies.²

Much about English print changed during the sixteenth century, but the high ratio of religious to non-religious works published did not. By far, most texts printed in the late 1400s were religious in scope. During the course of the sixteenth century, there was only a modest drop in this proportion, as publishers and printers began to identify markets for non-religious works.³ Edith Klotz has estimated that by the middle of the seventeenth century only forty-two percent of English print was religious, but a review of the mid-Jacobean London book trade by David Gants puts this number higher, at fifty-two percent.⁴ Marsh has noted, as well, the difficulty one encounters in attempting to differentiate religious and non-religious texts of the period.⁵ Some that were written primarily to educate, such as hornbooks and ABCs, used Christian doctrine to do so.⁶ What's more, early modern controversies often hinged upon issues of both religious and political consequence, making the literature generated by these difficult to categorize.

The vast majority of definitively religious books were written by clergy who possessed some education and parochial experience. Ian Green cites a study by

² Pettegree, "English Exception", 161, 76-78, 79.

³ Marsh, *Popular Religion*, 140.

⁴ Edith L. Klotz, "A Subject Analysis of English Imprints for Every Tenth Year from 1480 to 1640", *Huntington Library Quarterly* 1 (1938): 418; cited in Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 69; David L. Gants, "A Quantitative Analysis of the London Book Trade, 1614-1618", *Studies in Bibliography* 55 (2002): 187.

⁵ Marsh, *Popular Religion*, 140, n. 81.

⁶ Marsh, *Popular Religion*, 142, and n. 85; see Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and Its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen, Press, 1981), 72-75.

William Calderwood, who found that of 800 authors of religious works published during the Elizabethan reign, only three percent were laymen.⁷ Green himself estimates the number of non-clerical authors to be only slightly higher for the entire period extending from 1530 to 1730, mentioning the important part played by this small group. It included some women from the gentle and middle classes, such as Dorothy Leigh, who penned *The Mothers Blessing* (1616) as she was close to death; and some authors of common status.⁸ In some cases, printers themselves wrote or commissioned other laymen to write. But these were exceptions to the rule. Most writers of religious literature were churchmen who had schooling and some university education, followed typically by a teaching post in a university or an assistantship or curacy, and a full-time ministerial post. Many, though not all, lived in or near the capital.⁹

Who were the readers of religious print? It is not easy to determine the extent to which those who were not well-educated or in the upper classes engaged with the printed page. Literacy statistics help but do not tell the whole story. A study by David Cressy found that in 1500, only ten percent of men and one percent of women could write their signatures. By 1550, these figures had climbed to eighteen and three percent, respectively, and at the end of the century they had reached twenty-seven and nine percent. Most of those who had learned this skill were clergy and gentlefolk, some were traders, craftsmen and yeomen, and a mere handful were husbandmen and labourers.¹⁰ According to Green, those with full literacy—the ability to read and write—may have risen from ten or fifteen percent in the 1530s to about thirty percent a century later. He believes the evidence suggests that the greatest increases during the period were among the middle classes, and that those in rural areas made significant strides towards the literacy levels of the urban centres.¹¹ If one assumes

⁷ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 6, and n. 33; see William Calderwood, "The Elizabethan Protestant Press: A Study of the Printing and Publishing of Religious Literature in English, Excluding Bibles and Liturgies" (University of London, 1977), 19.

⁸ See Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 6; on *The Mothers Blessing*, see Green, 412, and on a printer's commission of a layman to write, 256. According to Jocelyn Catty, Leigh fashioned *The Mothers Blessing* as a "'mother's advice book', a popular genre which could legitimize a woman's writing at a time when it was readily seen as an 'unchaste' act"; Jocelyn Catty, "Leigh, Dorothy (d. in or before 1616)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/45499>> (1 Aug 2008).

⁹ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 6-7.

¹⁰ Marsh, *Popular Religion*, 138, n. 78; see David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge University Press, 1980), 118-29, 76-77.

¹¹ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 26, n. 140; see Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order*, 62, 72-75 and *passim*; and L. Stone, "Literacy and Education in England 1640-1900", *Past & Present* 42 (1969): 98-102.

that the percentage he cites rose at a uniform rate, then perhaps somewhere around twenty percent were fully literate during the first decade of the Elizabethan period. Actually, this number may have been even higher. According to some studies, the skill of signing one's name may not be an accurate criterion by which to measure literacy.¹² And Margaret Spufford has shown that many children may have learned to read but not write, as reading was taught first, and some left school to work in support of their families before instruction in writing had begun.¹³

It is also worth mentioning that at this time, early modern England was still in part an oral culture. Books were often read aloud, and silent reading was less common.¹⁴ Even domestic contexts, in which "private" reading took place, were not always as private as the sites to which modern readers are accustomed.¹⁵ "Shared reading, in familial or devotional settings, provided the means to use the spoken word to bring the otherwise inaccessible printed page to the attention of those who could not read it on their own", note Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf.¹⁶ The average person's memory power may have become more acute, by necessity, in such an environment. "It is extremely likely", Marsh concludes, "that literature reached the illiterate with a fluidity that seems alien today".¹⁷ Thus, despite the likelihood that full literacy was a luxury enjoyed mostly by the gentry, learned clergy and the upper-middle classes, those who were technically "illiterate" were not completely bereft of opportunities to glean from religious print, in its various forms.

Several scholars have noted a cautious ambivalence towards print which was frequently expressed in the early modern period. The diffusion of material from the

¹² Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf, eds., *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain, 1500–1850* (Manchester University Press, 2002), 22. In support of this claim, they cite the research of Margaret Spufford, "First Steps in Literacy: The Reading and Writing Experiences of the Humblest Seventeenth-Century Spiritual Biographers", *Social History* 4 (1979), 414; T. C. Smout, "Born Again in Cambuslang: New Evidence on Popular Religion and Literacy in Eighteenth-Century Scotland", *Past and Present* 97 (1982): 121–23; and Keith Thomas, "The Meaning of Literacy", in G. Baumann, ed., *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986): 102–03.

¹³ Cited in Marsh, *Popular Religion*, 139, n. 79; see also Spufford, "First Steps in Literacy": 407–35.

¹⁴ Marsh, *Popular Religion*, 139; and see Adam Fox, "Popular Verses and Their Readership in the Early Seventeenth Century", in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. James Raven, Helen Small and Naomi Tadmor (Cambridge University Press, 1996): 127, 131.

¹⁵ Heidi B. Hackel notes that servants were often present in the bedchamber of the early modern reader, and even did the reading for their masters, on occasion; and though the closet increasingly became a common site for private reading, it was still not a common feature in homes of the period; *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy*, (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 34–43.

¹⁶ Fox and Woolf, *The Spoken Word*, 7.

¹⁷ Marsh, *Popular Religion*, 139.

presses was not perceived favourably by everyone. "In an environment in which literacy levels were limited and oral traditions continued to enjoy considerable respect," notes Fox, "the paradoxes and ambiguities inherent in writing remained keenly felt. On the one hand, it derived prestige as the vehicle for transmitting government and law. . . . On the other hand, the notion long endured that writing, as the mere symbol of speech, was a poor substitute for personal contact and verbal exchange."¹⁸ David McKitterick similarly characterises the years between the mid-sixteenth century and the end of the seventeenth as "a period of anxiety . . . at inaccuracy in the printed book, and at the apparently unstemmable increase in the numbers of publications, with the tendency for ill as well as for religious or scholarly good".¹⁹ Heidi B. Hackel cites the example of Bishop George Carleton, who "referred aptly and fretfully to his period as 'this Scribbling Age'", in a 1615 text.²⁰ Any study on aspects of print culture during the early modern period must take into account what these and other scholars have iterated over the last two decades, namely, that print did not eclipse the human voice or the pen as the dominant medium of Western civilization as swiftly as was once assumed.²¹ Its ascendancy was gradual, as was the waning of these older forms of expression. "The relationship between these three media was one of mutual infusion and reciprocal interaction, of symbiosis and dynamic continuum", write Alexandra Walsham and Julia Crick.²²

One obvious change that followed the invention of the press was an increase in the supply and affordability of religious texts. Before print, purchasing even a mid-sized copied manuscript would have been very difficult for most people. To obtain a

¹⁸ Adam Fox, "Custom, Memory and the Authority of Writing", in *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*, ed. Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 90.

¹⁹ David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), 8, and see esp. 97–131. McKitterick notes that while a printer could produce thousands of accurate reproductions of a text, he might also issue thousands of inaccurate copies, knowingly or unknowingly; as such, manuscripts were sometimes perceived as more reliable (and less dangerous) than printed works.

²⁰ Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England*, 26; Hackel quotes Bishop George Carleton, *Directions to Know the True Church* (London: 1615), sig. A2r.

²¹ The traditional view was posited forcefully by Elizabeth Eisenstein, in *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communication and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols., (Cambridge University Press, 1979). Studies which have more recently demonstrated the complexity of interplay between print and older media include Keith Thomas, "The Meaning of Literacy"; Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500–1700* (Oxford University Press, 2000); and Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham, eds, *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700* (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

²² Alexandra Walsham and Julia Crick, "Introduction: Script, Print and History", in *The Uses of Script and Print*, 17.

larger work, such as a primer, would have been impossible.²³ Over successive decades, printers and writers came to appreciate the advantages of producing cheaper works. For example, John Day, pioneering printer of the English Reformation, addressed the needs of rich and poor readers by publishing the Scriptures or portions of them in different sizes, including a series of six octavo volumes comprising sections of the complete Bible, from 1549 to 1551.²⁴ Smaller works tended to sell in greater numbers, but larger folio works like Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* often sold for a longer period.²⁵ A publication's price was generally determined by the quality and size of paper used, the presence or absence of illustrations, the type of binding used and the number of pages. Single-sheet works such as ballads and short catechisms sold for about a half-penny in 1530, and later rose to a penny. A sermon, copy of the metrical psalms, or intermediate catechism of between twenty-four and fifty pages might cost anywhere from four to six pence. Unbound quarto works of between 200 and 300 pages, such as Thomas Rogers's edition of à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*, might carry a price of tenpence or a shilling during the period before the Civil War. And large, multi-volume works like Calvin's *Institutes*, Samuel Hieron's collected *Workes* or a bound Bible or commentary series might cost anywhere from four to twenty shillings or even several pounds. "It does not take too much to calculate that while a youth of modest or humble background . . . might occasionally acquire a relatively expensive work in a cheap edition, or in the growing second-hand market", Green writes, "it was only adults of moderately good income who were going to be able to afford many such works, *and* the candles—and perhaps the spectacles—to read them outside daylight hours".²⁶

²³ White, *Tudor Books*, 67.

²⁴ Andrew Pettegree describes the great capital investment Day made in order to print John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1563), in "Day, John (1521/2–1584)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7367>> (1 Aug 2008). See also John N. King, "John Day: Master Printer of the English Reformation", in *The Beginnings of English Protestantism*, ed. Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 190.

²⁵ King, "John Day: Master Printer of the English Reformation", 183.

²⁶ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 39–40.

II. Ascetic Features in English Religious Print, 1558–1579

The analysis below is based primarily on a study of the texts in Ian Green's sample of "best-sellers and steady sellers", discussed in chapter 1. These are religious works "probably printed at least five times in the space of thirty years, starting either from their first appearance in print or another edition".²⁷ Each of the forty-five texts listed in Green's sample for the early Elizabethan period was perused.²⁸ A few types of literature that were not considered by Green, such as broadsides and controversial works, will be discussed briefly, alongside the works in his sample. As mentioned, this discussion highlights features of religious titles published during this period which are different from and similar to the traits of the Catholic ascetic treatises described in the previous chapter.

II.A. Cheap Print, Histories and Educational Works

A considerable number of inexpensive religious works circulated during the period under consideration. The small size of these genres would alone preclude the possibility of any noteworthy similarity to the Catholic treatises introduced before, but a brief description of their form and audience will confirm the differences between them. Because of their fragility, these compositions perished easily, and scholars have found it relatively difficult to research their popularity, as a result.²⁹ Broadsides were single sheets featuring short passages of text or illustrations. Ballads were often sold in this form, as short pieces of verse for singing or reading, like poetry. They were published in the hundreds of thousands, and possibly the millions, during the Elizabethan period, and appealed to high and low alike. As forms of entertainment, they covered a range of subjects as wide as human experience itself: traditional folktales, classical epigrams, current events, stories of love, virtue and vice. Tessa Watt has drawn attention to the large proportion of "godly" ballads and metrical Psalms that were published in early Elizabethan England. Some Protestant writers apparently used this popular genre to disseminate biblical truth, providing an

²⁷ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 173.

²⁸ This does not include Bibles or portions of Scripture published.

²⁹ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 447.

alternative to the many secular examples that fell under their reproach. Needless to say, religious ballads were not written to teach a comprehensive method of piety. They satisfied more basic needs in the early modern consumer: “the need for role models, for inspirational stories, for behavioural rules to give to their children, [and] for guidance on the approach of death”, for instance. Pictures of Bible scenes, tables of Christian virtues, short scriptural passages or religious phrases like “Feare God” were also placed on broadsides, and were sometimes used as wall-hangings.³⁰

The presses churned out a variety of short prose works as well, usually running between twelve and twenty-four pages in length. Pamphlets were unbound works printed in black-letter type, indicating their makers had a less-scholarly, more popular audience in mind. They contained news reports (often sensational), accounts of famous crimes and satirical commentary on English society.³¹ Later, during the 1620s, small bound and unbound works known as chapbooks (because they were peddled by chapmen in the city or country) became popular. Most of these conveyed more enduring material, such as “chivalric romances and favourite jests”, but religious writers also made use of the format.³²

Three works in Green’s sample were histories or quasi-histories which carried religious themes, but did not espouse a mode of piety in any conscious sense. Abraham ben David’s abstract of Josephus’s history of the Jews, *A Compendious and Most Marveilous History*, sold well from the earliest decade of the Elizabethan period to the beginning of the eighteenth century. The puritan Antony Gilby translated *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarches* from Latin into English, a text allegedly based on the last words of Jacob to his sons. This work, which was full of religious lessons, also went through several editions throughout the latter sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A longer and more scholarly tome, with a more modest print record, was Church of England and Church of Ireland clergyman Meredith Hanmer’s translation of *The Auncient Ecclesiasticall Histories*, containing a handful of accounts from early church historians, including that of Eusebius.³³ Hanmer informed readers that the

³⁰ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 11, 1-8, 39-73, 131-253.

³¹ See Sandra Clark, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers: Popular Moralistic Pamphlets 1580-1640* (London: Athlone, 1983), 23-24; and Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge University Press, 2003).

³² Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 268, 272, 85-88; and see Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 472-79.

³³ Hanmer was a moderate Protestant who earned a dubious reputation during his early career, which may explain his decision to leave England in or before 1591 and serve in Ireland, where clerical

work would enable them to see how quickly the corrupting influence of human tradition had entered the ancient church. All three of these texts probably owed some of their popularity to the fact that they satisfied more than mere historical interests; polemical and spiritual purposes were also served.

Two popular titles published during the period used religious ideas as a vehicle for education. One was *The ABC with the Catechisme*, a small, officially published guide that included the printed alphabet in small and large caps, and for reading practice, the Prayer Book catechism and a series of prayers and mealtime “graces”.³⁴ (Catechisms and prayer books are discussed at more length below). Such official works, says Green, represent “the most significant use of print to promote Protestantism” in early modern England.³⁵ Another text, by the French humanist Sébastien Châteillon,³⁶ contained dialogues in Latin that were based on biblical topics. Obviously, given their size and main purpose, none of the writings described in this section purported to guide readers through the Christian life in a comprehensive, systematic way; nor did they prescribe a regime of devotional exercises, as did the writings of the Catholic ascetics.

II.B. Commentaries and Other Bible Study Aids

Protestants published several commentaries and other aids to Bible study as part of a campaign to promote knowledge of Scripture among the people. Expository works by well-known reformers sold in modest numbers to an audience of clergy and learned lay readers. Several commentaries (and sermon and lecture series) by Calvin and Luther were published, though most never saw a second edition. Four works from this category did well enough to be included in the early Elizabethan portion of Green’s sample: *A Postill, or Exposition of the Gospels*, by the Scandinavian

standards were less rigorous. Nevertheless, the merits of his scholarship and skill as a historian are thought to have been considerable; see Alan Ford, “Hanmer, Meredith (1543–1604)”, in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12204>> (1 Aug 2008).

³⁴ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 184.; see also Green’s *The Christian’s ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England c.1530–1740* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).

³⁵ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 182.

³⁶ Châteillon (also Castellio) famously befriended John Calvin for a time, before entering into bitter dispute with him over matters of religious freedom and conscience; see Hans R. Guggisberg, *Sebastian Castellio, 1515–1563: Humanist and Defender of Religious Toleration in a Confessional Age*, trans. Bruce Gordon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

Lutheran, Niels Hemmingsen; Luther's commentary *upon The Epistle of S. Paul to the Galathians*; Edward Dering's *XXVII Lectures, or Readings, upon Part of the Epistle to the Hebrues*; and *Two Right Profitable and Fruitfull Concordances* for accompaniment of the Geneva Bible, by Robert F. Herrey. Because the format of these works was dependent on Scripture, they were structurally very differently from the Catholic ascetic treatises discussed in chapter 3. Nevertheless, certain elements they share in common with the latter are worth mention here.

Hemmingsen's *Postil* was a lengthy work written especially for clergy. It provided expositions on seventy readings from the Gospels, for use on Sundays and saints' days. Luther's and Dering's were verse-by-verse studies. All three of these texts bear the marks of the religious conflicts raging during the period. Their authors used the Roman Catholic Church as a convenient foil to illustrate the sins and errors about which Scripture warns. Not surprisingly, Luther drew numerous parallels between the doctrines of the Catholics and those of the legalists that bewitched the Galatian church in Paul's time. Likewise, Dering expounded passages like Hebrews 4:14—"Since then that we have a great high priest . . . even Jesus the sonne of God, let us hold fast our profession"—by drawing attention to the plurality of priests and interceding saints whom Catholics consulted. Dering, whom Patrick Collinson characterises as an early puritan spokesman, would publish writings in a handful of genres during the early decades of Elizabeth's reign, before his death in 1576.³⁷ Both he and Luther focused heavily on the doctrinal significance of the texts they expounded, but there were some practical instructions scattered here and there. In spite of his repeated attacks on the monastic orders, Luther's own spiritual prescriptions were reminiscent of the *lectio divina* tradition, urging Protestants to "use humble and hearty prayer, with continuall studie and meditation of the worde" to retain an understanding of the Gospel.³⁸ Dering promoted consideration of the works of God in creation and in history, and some of Hemmingsen's short homilies provided teaching on fasting, self-examination, repentance, preparation for the Lord's Supper and even meditation on the Passion.³⁹ Thus, while their arrangement differed greatly

³⁷ See Patrick Collinson, "Dering, Edward (c.1540–1576)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7530>> (2 Aug 2007).

³⁸ Martin Luther, *A Commentarie of M. Doctor Martin Luther upon the Epistle of S. Paul to the Galathians* (London: 1575), 33.

³⁹ Edward Dering, *XXVII. Lectures, or Readings, upon Part of the Epistle Written to the Hebrues* (London: 1576), 332–36; Niels Hemmingsen, *A Postil, or Exposition of the Gospels That Are*

from that of the Catholic ascetic texts, one could not say these Scripture-based writings were wholly devoid of the type of spiritual training that Catholic writings such as Granada's *Of Prayer, and Meditation* methodically espoused.

II.C. Sermons

The sermon was certainly not a Protestant innovation, but Protestants viewed the preaching office as a preeminent means of bringing the knowledge of salvation to the common people.⁴⁰ Printed sermons were relatively popular as a genre: one scholar estimates that around 1,000 were published during the Elizabethan period alone.⁴¹ Five single sermons and four sermon collections were included in Green's sample of best- and steady-sellers from the first half of the queen's reign. Like the commentary writers above, most of the ministers who delivered them emphasised the dissimilarity between Protestant and Catholic doctrine.⁴² Owing to the nature of sermon writing and delivery, and the polemic overtones of these particular messages, one finds very little here to compare with the Catholic treatises in question.

Some of the period's sermons had originated in the years before the religious settlement of 1559. The first of two official homily collections, *Certayne Sermons, or Homilies*, had been written by "leading lights" of Edwardian Protestantism, and was first published in 1547. Its discourses, provided for parishes wanting learned clergy, dealt with basic topics like the reading of Scripture, justification by faith and the place of good works.⁴³ *The Seconde Tome of Homelyes* followed in 1563, and contained what is, in light of the concerns of this study, a striking series of homilies on fasting,

Usually Red in the Churches of God, Upon the Sundayes and Feast Dayes of Saints (London: 1569), 80-82, 85-88, 109-11, 23-24.

⁴⁰ See Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 194.

⁴¹ This figure represents sermons preached in English, and does not even account for those preached in Latin and subsequently translated into English; H. S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers, 1558 to 1603* (Cambridge University Press, 1965), 148; cited in Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 194. Bennett himself draws on Alan. F. Herr, *The Elizabethan Sermon: A Survey and Biography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1940).

⁴² The obvious exception was Richard Wimbleton, a fourteenth-century figure whose sermon on the Judgment was published under the title, *A Sermon No Lesse Fruitfull Then Famous* (London: 1540).

⁴³ Official, *Certayne Sermones, or Homilies* (London: 1547): on the reading of Scripture, sig. A3v; on justification, D2v; on good works, H1v. There were also sermons against particular sins, such as swearing (sig. L3v), adultery (sig. S4v) and contention (sig. X3v).

temperance in diet and dress, and prayer.⁴⁴ They reflect an approach to piety devised mostly from a Protestant interpretation of Scripture, which ignored a millennium of developments in Christian ascetic practice, but they touched on a number of ascetic themes, nevertheless.

Sermons by Hugh Latimer and John Bradford, the celebrated Marian martyrs, sold moderately well during the two decades in question.⁴⁵ Bradford's *Two Notable Sermons* dealt with Protestant views of repentance and the Lord's Supper, respectively. Latimer's 27 sermons had been preached in the court of Edward VI. Most treated of Protestant belief, but encouragements to prayer and the study of Scripture were sometimes included. The following excerpt typifies the way early Protestants like Latimer modified old, familiar traditions such as meditation on the Passion with nuances of the new faith. A certain understanding of meditation, not unlike that of the Catholic texts, is evident:

Christen people should have his suffering for them in remembraunce. Let your gardaynes monish you, your pleasaunt gardains what Christ suffred for you in the Gardaine, and what commoditie you have by his sufferyng. It is his will ye should so doo, he would be had in remembraunce. Mix youre pleasures with the remembraunce of his bitter passion. The whole passion is satisfaction for oure sinnes, and not the bare death, considering it so nakedly by it selfe. The maner of speaking of scripture, is to be considered. It attributeth oure salvation, nowe to one thing, nowe to a nother that Christ did, where in dede it pertayned to all. Oure Saviour Christ hath left behind him, a remembraunce of his passion, the blessed communion, the celebration of the Lordes supper.⁴⁶

Four other messages worthy of mention were preached by Elizabethan divines with non-conformist leanings, each one imbued with anti-Catholic sentiment. Edward Dering preached two sermons in highly visible venues, which were quickly brought to press: one before the Queen herself, lamenting the deficiency of the church's ministers, which apparently soured Elizabeth to Dering thereafter;⁴⁷ and one at the Tower of London, on the benefits (and proper understanding) of the Lord's Supper.

⁴⁴ Official, *The Seconde Tome of Homelyes* (London: 1563): on fasting (two homilies), sig. Mm3r and Nn2r; moderation in diet, sig. Oo1v; moderation in dress, sig. Pp2v; and two homilies on prayer, sig. Qq3v and Qq6v.

⁴⁵ See Susan Wabuda, "Latimer, Hugh (c.1485–1555)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16100>> (1 Aug 2008); and D. Andrew Penny, "Bradford, John (c.1510–1555)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3175>> (31 July 2008).

⁴⁶ Hugh Latimer, *27 Sermons* (London: 1562), 96.

⁴⁷ Collinson, "Dering, Edward (c.1540–1576)", in *ODNB*.

The renowned historian, John Foxe, preached *A Sermon of Christ Crucified*, which dealt with basic doctrines like the atonement, reconciliation with God and repentance.⁴⁸ Lastly, a sermon by William Fulke identifying the Roman Catholic Church with scriptural Babylon was published and sold fairly well during the 1570s. Fulke was the prolific polemicist who endeavoured to answer several of the controversial texts published by Catholic apologists during the early decades of Elizabeth's reign.⁴⁹ In Foxe's sermon, and in the second of Dering's, separation from the world was urged in light of the heavenly rewards for which believers hoped—a common theme of the ascetic manuals. Notwithstanding this and some cursory mention of prayer and meditation, however, it seems apparent that the writers of these popular sermons were most intent on clarifying Protestant orthodoxy, not on laying out a devotional programme.

II.D. Catechisms

Catechisms, like sermons, were written and used by both Protestants and Catholics during the early modern period. They were designed to instruct in points of doctrine that were thought to be essential. Around fifteen catechetical texts were included in Green's sample for the two decades under consideration. Most were Reformed in theology, though one work by a Lutheran, Johann Spangenberg, was published during the Edwardian period and up to the late 1560s. Some were designed for children and common people, others for scholars and less learned clergy. As Green notes, the shorter catechism that accompanied the 1549 Prayer Book served an exemplary purpose for several later works. A longer form by Alexander Nowell, Dean of St Paul's, was approved in the 1560s, and was itself published in longer and shorter, Latin and English versions. Latin and English editions of John Calvin's catechism were also well known, and a number of other clergy such as Edward Dering produced their own catechisms.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ The delivery of Foxe's sermon was especially timely, as only a month before, the queen had been excommunicated by the *Regnans* bull of Pope Pius V; Thomas S. Freeman, "Foxe, John (1516/17–1587)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10050>> (1 Aug 2008).

⁴⁹ Richard Bauckham, "Fulke, William (1536/7–1589)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10224>> (8 Aug 2006).

⁵⁰ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 189–93.

Almost every one of the works in this group made use of the same *loci*, namely, the Decalogue, the Apostle's Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the doctrine of justification by faith. Many contained instruction on prayer to accompany discussion of the Lord's Prayer. Catechumens were taught the importance of praying sincerely, with the heart as well as the tongue, and to do so in faith and according to God's will. Every opportunity was used to distinguish Protestant truth from Catholic error. Nowell's catechism reflects the manner in which piety was handled in these works, when it did receive passing mention. He seemed to hint at the importance of meditation when describing the intended benefits of Christ's ascension, for example:

Ma[ster]. But how can wee follow his example in his ascending up to heaven?

Sch[olar]. We ought from henceforth to looke up to heaven, and to raise up our mindes and harts thither, where Christ is at the right hand of the father: bending all our thoughts and studies upon divine, aeternall, & heavenly thinges, and not upon earthly, worldly, and transitory thinges.⁵¹

And yet, elsewhere, where one might expect Nowell to advocate something like meditation, he does not. The question is posed concerning a remedy for listlessness in prayer: "When this ferventnesse of minde that can not always be present, is slacked, or wholly quenched, shall we as it were drousy with slowth, & sleeping, idly looke for the styrring and moving of the spirite?" The solution given was not to feed oneself with spiritual truths, but simply to pray more: "When we be faynt and slacke in minde, we must byandby crave the helpe of God, that he will geve us cherefulnesse and stirre up our hartes to prayer".⁵² As in the genres discussed above, the emphasis of the Elizabethan catechism was primarily dogmatic, not devotional. A robust piety, as understood from these works, would seem to rely more on assent to right doctrine than on participation in a regimen of religious exercises.

⁵¹ Alexander Nowell, *A Catechism, or Institution of Christian Religion, to Bee Learned of All Youth* (London: 1572), sig. D8v.

⁵² Nowell, *A Catechisme, or First Instruction and Learning of Christian Religion* (London: 1570), sig. Q1v.

II.E. Treatises

If one excludes works of cheap print, whose circulation histories are difficult to trace, then treatises can easily be said to comprise the largest group among all types of religious works published in early modern England. Green uses two measures to identify this genre, which are useful here. A treatise, he says, “was a literary composition, as opposed to one which was delivered or designed to be given orally; and it offered a methodical treatment of a definite theme or topic”. This differentiated it from the sermon, commentary and catechism, and from the anthologies of prayers and other devotions that will be discussed shortly. (The reader will note that the designation of the Catholic ascetic writings above as *treatises* is also consistent with this definition.) Various sub-genres of the form are examined here.

II.E.1. Controversial Treatises

Peter Milward’s surveys of religious controversies have enabled scholars to trace, with relative ease, the numerous polemical exchanges that boiled over into print during the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods. He documents around 140 texts published under this heading during the twenty years that followed the Elizabethan Settlement—a number that includes both Protestant and Catholic works, but not second or third issues of any one text.⁵³ As mentioned in the previous chapter, the battle between the confessions began with John Jewel’s “Challenge Sermon” in November 1559, and carried on for a decade before losing steam. Other controversies arose between radical and moderate Protestants during the late 1560s and 1570s, over the issue of clerical dress and a broad index of desired reforms. Jewel himself published a Latin defence of the official church in 1562: his *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*. Granted, much of the material in these writings encouraged adherence to a particular faith or doctrinal position.

Sometimes controversy was appended with religious exhortation; and quite often, religious exhortation was appended with controversy, as in Edmund Bunny’s Protestant edition of Persons’s Catholic *Resolution*, which is discussed in the next

⁵³ Milward, *Religious Controversies (Elizabethan)*; interestingly, this accounts for just over a fifth of the total for the entire Elizabethan period, indicating an exponential surge of polemic during the last two decades of the century.

chapter. “In that age”, Milward himself quipped, “where precisely can one say that religion ends and politics or philosophy or literature begins?”⁵⁴ In a recent study, Jesse M. Lander posits that the rise of polemic, as a category of writing, was a result of the encounter between the printing press and the Reformation—of “the consequential intersection of religious controversy and print technology in early modern England”.⁵⁵ Lander demonstrates how polemic became a “ubiquitous practice”, used in all sorts of discursive forms, including history (Foxye’s *Actes and Monuments*), and tragedy (Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*).⁵⁶ But even if debate occasionally served as a handmaid to doctrinal instruction, history or drama, it could hardly serve the writer of devotion. Discussion in later chapters will demonstrate that, in fact, religious controversy was frequently perceived as a hindrance to religious edification.

II.E.2. Classical-Humanist Treatises

Three decades ago, Patrick Collinson acknowledged the difficulty of tracing the influence of Erasmianism, or of humanism more generally, in the English religious tradition.⁵⁷ Without doubt, both affected many of the writers whose works are discussed here. Still, there was one popular composition whose debt to the classical-humanist strain was unequivocal. First published in 1547, William Baldwin’s *A Treatise of Morall Phylosophie, Containing the Sayings of the Wyse* provided short biographies on a number of ancient philosophers, along with suitable epigrams and parables by these figures. In the words of John King, it attempted “on the one hand to introduce classical learning to a readership dedicated to self-education, and on the other to harmonize classical philosophy with Christian belief”.⁵⁸ Not surprisingly, Baldwin’s text contains some Stoic counsel, warning readers to shun the vanities of earthly life and to welcome suffering and death with noble resignation.

⁵⁴ Milward, *Religious Controversies (Elizabethan)*, xiii.

⁵⁵ Jesse M. Lander, *Inventing Polemic: Religion, Print, and Literary Culture in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1.

⁵⁶ Lander, *Inventing Polemic*, 5; and see chaps. 1 (“‘Foxye’s’ Book of Martyrs: Printing and Popularizing the *Actes and Monuments*”, 56-79) and 3 (“‘Whole Hamlets’: Q1, Q2, and the Work of Distinction”, 110-44).

⁵⁷ Patrick Collinson, “‘A Magazine of Religious Patterns’: An Erasmian Topic Transposed in English Protestantism”, in *Renaissance and Renewal in Christian History: Papers Read at the Fifteenth Summer Meeting and the Sixteenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, Studies in Church History (Oxford: Blackwell, 1977), 224-25.

⁵⁸ John N. King, “Baldwin, William (d. in or before 1563)”, in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1171>> (1 Aug 2007).

Still, these teachings are expressed in epigrammatic form, not discursively or methodically, as in the writings of Granada and the other ascetics.

II.E.3. Treatises on A Godly Death

Writings on the *ars moriendi* or “art of dying well” grew somewhat common during the later medieval period, as Ralph Houlbrooke, Ian Green and others have noted.⁵⁹ They continued to find an audience after the Protestant Reformation, though some familiar elements were modified in accordance with the change. One popular work from the early Elizabethan period that bears witness to this tradition, while showing obvious signs of Protestant innovation, is Thomas Becon’s *The Sycke Mans Salve*, first published in 1560. Becon was ordained to the priesthood in 1533, and published several Protestant works during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. He was chaplain to Thomas Cranmer during the reign of Edward VI.⁶⁰ His *Sycke Mans Salve* is set in the form of a dialogue between a group of characters who gather around the deathbed of a friend. Their conversation provides the reader with advice on holy dying. Basic aspects of the older form are present, such as the warning against delaying repentance until the end of one’s life and the inclusion of prayers to be rehearsed by the sick and those with them. At the same time, Becon infuses the work with an unmistakably Protestant flavour, placing anti-Catholic commentary in the mouths of his characters. Epaphroditus, the dying man, “lacks any kind of sacramental assistance”, like that which most Catholics would have expected.⁶¹ Reflection on one’s mortality was a theme with which the ascetic writers were quite familiar, and Becon’s work shares with the Catholic ascetic treatises a certain recognition of the need for spiritual preparation and discipline. Many of the concerns discussed in his work are the same which attend the early, purgative stages of the ascetic ladder; namely, confession of sins, repentance and a reflective comparison of the world’s vanity and eternal glory. *The Sycke Mans Salve* might have affected readers in the same way as Persons’s *Resolution . . . Appertayning to Resolution*. At

⁵⁹ Ralph Houlbrooke, “The Puritan Death-Bed, c.1560–c.1660,” in *Culture of English Puritanism*, ed. Durston and Eales, 122–23; Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 360. See also Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Croom Helm, 1984), 22.

⁶⁰ See Seymour B. House, “Becon, Thomas (1512/13–1567)”, in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1918>> (19 April 2008).

⁶¹ Houlbrooke, “The Puritan Death-Bed”, 124.

the same time, it offered nothing like an organized plan of contemplative discipline, devoted as it was to the subject of death and dying.

II.E.4. Entertaining Treatises

Some early modern writers employed unique and intriguing forms to communicate religious lessons. The dialogue, used by Thomas Becon for his *Sycke Mans Salve*, would be taken up repeatedly in later decades (most famously by John Bunyan, author of *The Pilgrim's Progress*). One anonymous writer penned a hortatory treatise in the form of a parliamentary decree, called *A New Yeres Gift, or an Heavenly Acte of Parliament*. A very brief work, it called for obedience to the Commandments and confession of sin. A longer treatise, also anonymous, came in the form of an allegorical fable. *The History of the Seven Wise Maisters of Rome* had been written before the Reformation, and was republished in 1576. It told of a son, representing mankind, who was taught wisdom by seven guides, representing the liberal arts. Both of these works promoted biblical and classical standards of morality, more than spiritual devotion.

II.E.5. Doctrinal Treatises

Three popular texts from the early Elizabethan period provided readers with substantial, systematic arrangements of Protestant dogma: John Calvin's renowned *Institution of Christian Religion* and two other Calvinist writings: *A Brieve and Piththie Summe of the Christian Faith*, by his successor, Theodore Beza; and a work with an almost identical title, English clergyman John Northbrooke's *Spiritus est Vicarius Christi in Terra. A Breefe and Pithie Summe of the Christian Faith*. Calvin's lengthy work was translated by Thomas Norton and published in 1561, and repeated editions were issued throughout the Elizabethan period. Beza's shorter work was arranged differently from his predecessor's, but was theologically consistent with it. His *Brief and Piththie Summe* went to press two years later, and had more modest appeal. Northbrooke's treatise was first published in 1571, and was similar to that of Beza, but more polemical in tone. It also had a modest but stable print record.

Interestingly, one finds a fairly vigorous asceticism in Calvin's *Institutes*,⁶² which is almost wholly absent from the two derivative works. This may have been in part a consequence of the difference in size of the texts: Calvin's exceeded 1000 pages, making it at least twice as long as the other two titles. Near the beginning of his tome, he clarified his conception of piety, which rests on the mind's grasp of holy truths: "Godlines [Latin *pietas*] I cal a reverêce of God joined with love of him which is procured by knowledge of hys benefytes."⁶³ In his treatment of the Christian life, described in book 3 of the *Institutes*, Calvin claimed that believers grow through union with Christ, in his death, resurrection and ascension. This union is effected by the Holy Spirit, through faith in the Word of God. Taking exception with the "Scholemen", some of whom depicted faith as blind assent to the teachings of the Church, Calvin insisted that faith itself is a kind of knowledge, with God's Word as its object: "Faythe standeth not in ignorance but in knoweledge", he insisted, "and not onely in God, but of the wyll of God".⁶⁴ Given such an understanding of faith and its relationship to sanctification, it is not surprising that Calvin ascribed some importance to meditation as a means of spiritual growth. He urged believers to reflect on "the life to come", and to better appreciate their need for justification in Christ, he recommended that they contemplate the perfection of God, and the Final Judgement.⁶⁵ According to Randall Zachman, Calvin's chief objective in writing the *Institutes* itself was to foster piety by promoting meditation on divine truths:

Guided by the *Institutes*, we are to seek in Scripture spiritual realities that we should ponder and contemplate, so that we might experience the force of them ourselves, . . . Calvin considers such contemplation to be *essential* to a profitable reading of the *Institutes*, even if he at times leaves such contemplation up to his readers. . . . Calvin's objective as a teacher is to confirm, clarify and strengthen the experience and awareness of spiritual reality that the pious already have when they pick up the *Institutes*.⁶⁶

⁶² The first English translation to use *Institutes* in its title (rather than *Institution*) was that of James Allen, published in 1813. The two translations that have succeeded Allen's, by Henry Beveridge (1845) and Ford Lewis Battles (1960; edited by John T. McNeill) also used *Institutes*.

⁶³ John Calvin, *The Institution of Christian Religion*, trans. Thomas Norton (London: 1561), sig. A2v.

⁶⁴ Calvin, *Institutes*, sig. O5r.

⁶⁵ Calvin, *Institutes*, 3:9, 12; sig. X7v, Aa5v.

⁶⁶ Randall C. Zachman, *John Calvin as Teacher, Pastor, and Theologian* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic), 100.

Calvin's treatment of meditation was not as methodical as that of the Catholic ascetics, nor did his text offer a scheme for daily application, but his *Institutes* was certainly more devotional than most of the theological treatises published in England during the late sixteenth century. As Simon Chan has observed, Calvin "provided a doctrinal framework which legitimated [the practice of meditation and self-examination], by viewing it in terms of union with Christ".⁶⁷ English Protestant writers would build upon this framework later on, devising more precise and elaborate devotional programmes.

Like the Catholic ascetic authors, Calvin also emphasised the need for self-denial, designating this "the summe of a Christian lyfe": "no mā hath rightly forsaken himselfe," he asserted, "but he hath so resigned himselfe up wholly to the Lord, that he suffreth all the partes of his lyfe to be governed by hys will".⁶⁸ Scholars have speculated that Calvin may have been influenced by the *devotio moderna*, and by the *Imitation* of Thomas à Kempis, specifically.⁶⁹ He likely read this text during his time at the Collège de Montaigu, in Paris.⁷⁰ It is certainly possible that the *imitatio Christi* tradition was a source of his own teaching on piety, but this is difficult to verify, and one may just as easily trace the ideas Calvin outlines in chapters 7 and 8 of the third book of the *Institutes* to the New Testament, which he quotes profusely.⁷¹

One can hardly dispute the importance of Calvin's thought for the theology of the English church, and for puritan doctrine, specifically. At this point, it will be helpful to qualify what has been said about his *Institutes* with two brief points. First, although Calvin's large work did contain some robust ascetical teaching, it was probably read by a relatively select and learned audience. Ian Green speculates that "more readers may have encountered Calvin's writing through his commentaries and sermons (and his catechism) than the systematic theology of the *Institutes*".⁷² Second,

⁶⁷ Chan, "The Puritan Meditative Tradition", 23.

⁶⁸ Calvin, *Institutes*, 3:7; sig. U7v, X3r.

⁶⁹ Albert Hyma alleges that Calvin was introduced to the *devotio moderna* by Lefèvre d'Étaples and Martin Bucer; *The Christian Renaissance: A History of the 'Devotio Moderna'*, 2d ed. (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1965), 275-88, 297-99. Alexandre Gonczy relates how Calvin was impressed by Mathurin Cordier, his Latin instructor at the Collège de la Marche, who was a follower of the *devotio moderna*, in *The Young Calvin*, trans. David Foxgrover and Wade Provo (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987), 57. Both studies are cited by Byung-Ho Moon in *Christ the Mediator of the Law: Calvin's Christological Understanding of the Law as the Rule of Living and Life-Giving* (Waynesboro, Georgia: Paternoster, 2006), 46.

⁷⁰ Hyma, *Christian Renaissance*, 236-50.

⁷¹ See, e.g., sig. U7v (Romans 12:1), U8r (Titus 2:11-12), U8v (Philippians 2:3) X1r (1 Corinthians 4:7, 13:4), X3v (Matthew 16:24).

⁷² Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 114.

although Calvin intended that his *Institutes* would be read devotionally, that “they that are touched with some zeale of religion might bee instructed to true godlynesse”, its language is densely theological, and its tone highly polemical, in places.⁷³ As a classic model of first-generation Protestant beliefs, it places the fulcrum of true spirituality on the identification of right doctrine, apprehended by faith. The primary purpose of Calvin’s work was not to teach devotional exercises themselves, but to engender an orthodox understanding of spiritual truths, which he hoped would produce devotional *affections*. The practical teaching he included on prayer and meditation was merely supplementary.

II.E.6. Topical Treatises

Several works published during the late Tudor period dealt exclusively with one doctrine or theme. Two of William Tyndale’s “Marlborough tracts” had been printed repeatedly from the latter half of the reign of Henry VIII and through that of Edward VI, and were issued once more, in 1561: *The Obedience of a Chrysten Man, and How Christen Rulers Ought to Governe*; and *A Treatyse of the Justification by Faith Only*. Both were expressions of Lutheran theology, written during the earliest days of the English Reformation, while Tyndale was on the Continent.⁷⁴ The former discussed prayer, but in the context of polemical analysis. Two other texts reflected the growing influence of Calvin during the later sixteenth century. Both were works by French theologians, translated by the puritan John Field during the 1570s, when Field enjoyed the Crown’s good graces.⁷⁵ Jean de L’Espine’s *An Excellent Treatise of Christian Righteousnes* dealt with the doctrine of justification, and Philippe de Mornay’s *A Notable Treatise of the Church* compared Catholic and Protestant ecclesiological views. L’Espine briefly mentioned prayer as one of the effects of true Christian righteousness in his work. His teaching is unmistakably reformed, but in his reference to “evening and morning” one may trace a reminiscence of monastic and liturgical practice:

⁷³ Calvin, *Institution*, sig. A3r.

⁷⁴ See David Daniell, “Tyndale, William (c.1494–1536)”, in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27947>> (1 Aug 2008).

⁷⁵ Patrick Collinson, “Field, John (1544/5?–1588)”, in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9248>> (18 Apr 2007); and idem, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 85, 118–21, 131–32, 233–34; and also idem, “John Field and Elizabethan Puritanism,” in *Elizabethan Government and Society*, ed. S. T. Bindoff, J. Hurstfield and C. H. Williams (London: Athlone, 1961), 126–62.

As concening prayers, it is necessarie that evening and morning, before and after meate, and in the beginning and ending of all our workes, we praye unto God and praise him, begging that in our prayers which he hath commaunded to us are, and promised to give unto us, with full faith and assurance to obtaine them: which we must grounde upon his grace and promises, and upon the merite and intercession of Jesus Christour alone Mediatour.⁷⁶

Both of Field's translations sold well for a brief time, but were not reprinted after the early 1580s. Other writers concentrated on more practical topics. Heinrich Bullinger's discussion of *The Christen State of Matrimony* was in print from the late Henrician period, like the works of Tyndale, and one additional version circulated in 1575. Edmund Bicknoll unsheathed *A Sword Against Swearyng* in 1579, warning against the abuse of oaths, which was printed about once per decade until 1618.

There are four texts in this category which bear notable resemblance to the Catholic ascetic treatises. One was the work of a German Lutheran, Otto Werdmueller, called *A Spyrytuall and Moost Precyouse Pearle*. Translated by Miles Coverdale, the Protestant Bible translator and later Bishop of Exeter, it had been published during the Edwardian period, and was reprinted steadily up to the end of the century.⁷⁷ Werdmueller offered help to readers in the midst of affliction. His text shared many features with writings in the *ars moriendi* tradition, touched upon above. Its form was similar to that of the *Imitation of Christ* and Estella's *Contempe of the World*, offering a series of related meditations, with titles such as "Trouble and afflyccions do serve to prove and to trye us with all", "Trouble and adversyte gevyth us occasion to pray unto God, and to laude and prayse hym" and "Trouble and adversyte is a furtherance to eternal lyfe".⁷⁸ But Werdmueller's work was more specific in its focus than the Catholic manuals. It was designed to give aid to those in the throes of suffering, not to provide a broad strategy for spiritual growth.

Another work that encouraged the *contemptus mundi* was *Of the Ende of the World, and Second Coming of Christ*, by a Dutchman, Sheltco à Geveren. This text sold quite well for around a decade. It was brought into English by Thomas Rogers, a cleric with moderate religious views, under whose name several translated and

⁷⁶ Jean de L'Espine, *An Excellent Treatise of Christian Righteousnes* (London: 1577), 111.

⁷⁷ See David Daniell, "Coverdale, Miles (1488–1569)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6486>> (31 July 2008).

⁷⁸ Otto Werdmueller, *A Spyrytuall and Moost Precyouse Pearle* (London: 1550), sig. D4v, F8r, H1r.

original titles were published during the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods.⁷⁹ Geveren predicted the imminent return of Christ to the earth, on the basis of recent events and some curious alpha-numeric calculations of his own. In light of the coming catastrophe, he urged readers to be watchful and to detach themselves from present distractions.

The Governauce of Vertue was a unique composition by Thomas Becon, whose work on godly dying has already been mentioned.⁸⁰ It was written in 1538 and reprinted periodically until the early Stuart period, and carried the subtitle, *Teaching Al Faithful Christians, Howe They Oughte Dayle to Leade Their Lyfe, & Frutefully to Spende Their Tyme, unto the Glorye of God and the Health of Their Owne Soules*. Becon's work featured *catenae* of scriptures on an array of topics, designed to help readers to know God's will on matters such as "keping of evell company", "idleness", and those that "go about to dissuade the christen people from the studieng, reding or hearyng of gods word" (an anti-Catholic gibe).⁸¹ Set prayers for various occasions were attached at the end. Most notably, *The Governauce of Vertue* began with a fifteen-page plan for believers to follow daily, with basic instructions for specific times and select prayers to read (see fig. 1). Becon's counsels were fairly brief, as illustrated in the following excerpt, "Of the behaviour at the Table in dinner time":

When thou hast thus prayed unto god eate thy meate soberly and christenly: eschewyng all superfluitie, surfeting and drouckenship. Consider that thy meate and thy drinck, are the giftes of God, & are reverently & thankfully to bee received. . . . Let no filthy talke procede out of thy mouth, but that whiche is good to edifie, when neede is, that it may have fauor with the hearers, remembring that thou shalte geve accountes at the day of iudgement, for euery idle worde that thou speakest. Eschewe all dissolute and uncomely laughyng, least thou be therby counted wilde, wanton, foolishe, & without good maners. Let thy countenance be grave, sober, modest, gentle, and louyng, towarde al that be at the table, and so fashion thy selfe in gesture, worde and deede, as though God and his aungels wer visibly present at the table: And when Dinner is done, geve thanks to God for his benefites.⁸²

⁷⁹ See John Craig, "Thomas Rogers (c.1553–1616)" in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23998>, accessed 28 July 2008> (19 April 2008). The life and work of Thomas Rogers (no relation to Richard) is discussed more thoroughly in chapter 5.

⁸⁰ See p. 86.

⁸¹ Becon, *Governauce of Vertue*, 219, 230, 133.

⁸² Becon, *The Governauce of Vertue* (London: 1560), 5–6.

Considering the familiar shape of the programme he laid out, one is led to wonder whether Becon, who was ordained priest in 1533, before the dissolution of England's monasteries, might have imbibed some late-medieval religious habits, which seem to be reflected in this early Protestant devotional handbook. Helen White identifies some other works from the early days of print which provided specific prayers and advice in this format, including Richard de Bury's *The Contemplatyon of Synners for Every Day in the Week*, first published in 1499, and republished in 1578 under the title, *A Dyall of Dayly Contemplacion*; and the anonymously published *Dyurnall for Devoute Soules*.⁸³

⁸³ White, *Tudor Books*, 150, 154-56; Richard de Bury, *The Contemplacyon of Synners for Every Day in the Week* (London: 1499); Richard de Bury, *A Dyall of Dayly Contemplacion, or Devine Exercise of the Mind*, trans. Richard Robinson (London: 1578); Anon., *A Dyurnall for Devoute Soules* (London: n.d.).

THE GOVERNANCE of Vertue.

¶ How a man should behaue him selfe
in the morning when he riseth.

¶ When thou risest in the morning, looke that
thou with all humblynesse of mynde knelst
downe, and lifting vp thy hart, thy handes
and thine eyes vnto heauen vnto God the fa-
ther almighty, pray on this maner.

¶ A prayer for the morning.

¶ Lord God my heauēly father
I most humbly thanke thee, &
thou of thy fatherly goodnes
hast vouchsafed to defend me
this night from all euil: I most entyre-
ly beseeche thee, to p̄serue me also this
day, both from suffering and doyng any
euil, and to geue me grace so to walke
in the lyght of thy holy woord, that I
may bying forth frutes of y same vnto
the glorie of thy blessed name, and the
profite of my neighbour. Amen.

¶ If yet thou hast prayed on this maner, seeing
we be of sinners, it shall be expedient (if thou
hast convenient tyme) to confesse thy selfe
to God on this maner.

¶ A confession of our sinnes vnto
God the father.

Most greuously haue I inpratched
my siner offended thee my Lord God
and
13.1.

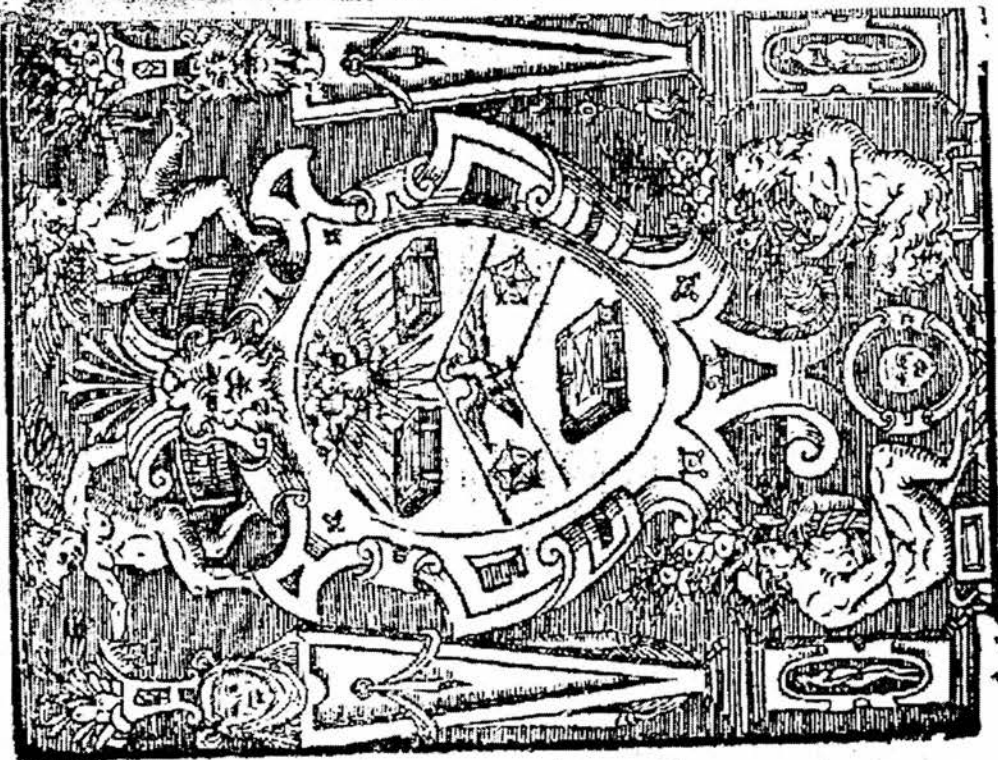


Figure 1. Sigla A8v-B1r of Thomas Becon's *The Governace of Vertue* (1566 ed.), describing a schedule of devotional exercises.

While intriguing aspects of Becon's work have been noted, key differences must also be taken into account. He did not provide ordered teaching on spiritual exercises, nor did his text treat the spiritual life as a staged progression. It is probably safe to conclude that he (and the writers of these other early sixteenth-century English works) drew some inspiration from the same ascetic tradition that inspired the Catholic writers featured in this study, though his writings also bore the marks of his own firmly-held Protestant beliefs.

Finally, it is fitting to say a word about the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* of Erasmus, considering this text's popularity in England and parts of Europe, and the fact that its author's stated purpose and message were not unlike those of the Catholic ascetic writers. Erasmus wrote the first version of this "handbook" or "handsome weapon of a christian Knight" in 1501,⁸⁴ as a favour for the wife of Burgundy's master at arms, who hoped it would win her husband over to a quieter, more devout life. He intended to "describe . . . compendiously, a certayne craft of vertuous living, by whose help [the reader] mightest attayn a vertuous minde, according to a true chrystian man."⁸⁵ The *Enchiridion* soon began to appear in published collections of Erasmus's works, and then by itself. Its popularity swelled after 1518, when he added a foreword that was sympathetic to Luther, and between 1519 and 1523, twenty-nine editions appeared. By the end of the century, the *Enchiridion* had been translated into eight different languages. For a time it was praised by Protestants and Catholics, but many of the latter disowned the work after the rift between the two groups widened, and it was eventually placed on Rome's *Index*.⁸⁶ Protestants in England reprinted it through the middle of the sixteenth century, but only one edition of the *Enchiridion* appeared during the Elizabethan period, in 1576.

As Terence O'Reilly points out, Erasmus shared with Ignatius Loyola certain important characteristics, including a "distrust of simply intellectual knowledge" and "esteem for the active life, for mental prayer, and for Scripture".⁸⁷ It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the *Enchiridion* shares with the ascetic treatises of Loarte,

⁸⁴ From its English title: *Enchiridion Militis Christiani, Which May Be Called in English, the Hansome Weapon of a Christian Knight* (London: 1576).

⁸⁵ Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, sig. D1r.

⁸⁶ Cornelius Augustijn, *Erasmus: His Life, Works, and Influence*, trans. J. C. Grayson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 43-44.

⁸⁷ Terence O'Reilly, "Erasmus, Ignatius Loyola, and Orthodoxy", in Terence O'Reilly, ed., *From Ignatius Loyola to John of the Cross: Spirituality in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, 1995), III:125. O'Reilly seeks to correct Loyola's early biographers, who stressed his opposition to Erasmus.

Granada and others some intriguing similarities. Nevertheless, there were also significant differences. Erasmus exploited his war motif from the outset of the work, informing readers that “we must watch and looke about us evermore, while we be in this lyfe”, wary of spiritual enemies.⁸⁸ God grants the Christian two weapons, he taught, which must be used with earnestness: prayer and knowledge. Erasmus seems to have included both vocal supplication and meditation under the heading of prayer. The knowledge he had in mind was the apprehension of spiritual truth, communicated through Scripture, but he commended the reading of ancient philosophers and church fathers, as aids to a better understanding of Scripture. He also emphasised that knowledge of oneself is crucial, and specifically, an awareness of the duality of flesh and spirit, waging war against each other, in one’s soul. To help the Christian soldier win the battle at hand and attain happiness, Erasmus offered twenty-two rules. These were exhortations and principles of various kinds: be zealous in battle; be confident in Christ, not in your own abilities; use every temptation as an occasion to practice virtue; when tempted, think upon the difference between sin and holiness, heaven and hell, God and the devil; etc.⁸⁹ The two most lengthy chapters in the *Enchiridion* addressed with the Christian’s need to make Christ their “mark and ensample of living”, and the contrast between physical and spiritual realities.⁹⁰ The last section of the work featured lessons on resistance to the enticement of specific sins, such as lust and anger.

Like the Catholic ascetic writers, Erasmus portrayed the Christian life as a prolonged and often demanding procession. Like Lorenzo Scupoli and other authors who flourished later on, he depicted the believer’s experience as a battle,⁹¹ and it is clear that he was aware that some readers would be more mature and battle-ready than others. Near the beginning of the work, he underscored the necessity of perseverance:

We [must] continue in these things, which we began well: and therefore the weakness must be underset, least we forsake the way of vertue with greater shame, than if we had bene never about to walk or enter therin. Ignorance must be remedied, that thou mayste se which way to go. The flesh must bee

⁸⁸ Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, sig. D1v.

⁸⁹ Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, sig. K1r, T5r, T6r, T8r-U6v.

⁹⁰ Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, sig. L1r, L7v.

⁹¹ Scupoli wrote *The Spiritual Conflict*, discussed on pp. 59-60; later works based on a military motif include John Downname’s *The Christian Warfare Against the Devill World and Flesh* (London: 1604), John Sprint’s *The Christian Sword and Buckler* (London: 1613), and Christopher Love’s *The Christians Combat, or, His True Spiritual Warfare* (London: 1664).

tamed, least she leade thee a side out of the high way, once knowne into bypathes, weaknes must be comforted, least whan thou hast entred into the straight waye, thou shouldest either faint or stoppe, or turne backe again.⁹²

In another place, after commending the Cross as an object of meditation, Erasmus laid out other points, "for the weaker sort", which could be more easily pondered, namely, the vileness of sin and the dignity of man.⁹³ In this way, his text was similar to that of the Catholic ascetic writers, who portrayed the Christian life as an extended passage from strength to strength.

The *Enchiridion* was also similar to the ascetic texts in its emphasis on the importance of framing the mind well, through prayer and meditation. However, Erasmus's description of these exercises was less formulaic and more esoteric than that of the ascetic guides. The prominent place he gave to meditation is reflected in his purpose statement, mentioned above, which was to cultivate "a vertuous minde, according to a true chrystian man", and also in his designation of "praier and knowledge" as the chief weapons of the Christian soldier. "These twayn", he wrote, "clevech so together like frendes. . . . Th'one maketh intercession and prayeth. The other sheweth what is to be desired, and what thou oughtest to pray."⁹⁴ A large proportion of the teaching in the *Enchiridion* was comprised of exhortations to reflect on one spiritual truth or another. The counsel Erasmus offered in the following passage, which addressed those who were discouraged by the difficulty of following Christ, is typical:

Beare thy selfe in hande that all the fearfull thinges and fantasies which appeare forthwith unto thee, as it were in the first entrying of hell: ought to be counte for a thinge of naught, by the example of Virgyls Eneas for certainly if thou shalte consider the very thing somewhat groundly and stedfastly (settinge at naught these aparente thinges, which begile thine eie), yê shalte perceive that none other waye is more comodious thâ the way of Christ.⁹⁵

In addition to issuing many calls to reflection and consideration like this one, Erasmus also outlined a kind of regulative method of meditation, reminiscent of both Plato and Paul, which he described under the book's fifth rule:

⁹² Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, sig. I8r.

⁹³ Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, sig. U3r.

⁹⁴ Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, sig. D1r, E2v-3r.

⁹⁵ Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, sig. K5r.

This wise think, and surely beleve, that the things invisible are so excellent . . . that the visible things in comparison of them, are scarce very shadowes, representinge to the eyes a small and a thinne similytude of them. Therefore in these outward and corporal things whatsover thy sensible wits either desire or abhorre: it shalbe meete that the spirits much more love or hate the same inwarde and in corporall thinges.⁹⁶

He went on to explain how one might apply such a method: "The goodly beautie of thy body pleaseth thine eyes: think than how honest a thinge is the beautie of the soule. A deformed visage semeth an unpleasaunt thinge: remember how odious a thing is a mynde defiled with vices. . . . Whatsoever is felt in the body, that same is to be understand in the soule".⁹⁷ This kind of comparison was not unknown to the ascetic writers,⁹⁸ whose texts encouraged contempt for the world, but none of them gave it as much prominence as Erasmus did. Moreover, none of them followed him in teasing out the principle's implications to the point of suggesting that outward, visible forms of worship are inferiour to invisible, inward piety. Erasmus conceded that visible forms serve a purpose, while underscoring the preeminence of virtue. Commenting on the Lord's Supper, he wrote: 'That they [communicants] imbrace the flesh of pity, I dispraise not: that they there stoppe, I prayse not. Let that bee perfourmed in thee, which is there represented to thine eye.'⁹⁹ Likewise, in discussing the meaning of the Cross, Erasmus acknowledged that form of meditation which the Catholic ascetic writers consistently taught, which centred on the Passion, but called his readers to what he thought a more purely spiritual form of appropriation. "It is necessary to be exercised . . . not after the common maner," he wrote,

as some men repete daily yê history of the passiô of christ or honour the ymage of the crosse, or w[ith] a thousand signes of it arme all their body round on every side. . . . This is not the true fruyte of that tree: nevertheles, let it in yê mean season be the milke of the soules, which be yonglinges and weake in Christ. But clime thou up into the date tree, that thou mayst take holde of yê true fruites therof. These be the chief, if we which be membres,

⁹⁶ Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, sig. M1r; early on in the work (sig. E7r), Erasmus commended "those of Platoes sect" before all other philosophical schools, claiming that their writings "come very nygh to the fygure and property of spech used of yê prophets, and in the Gospels."

⁹⁷ Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, sig. M1r-v.

⁹⁸ See, e.g., Loarte's *Exercise* (1579), sig. G1r-v, which compares the pains of hell with pains experienced in this life; and the *Memoriall* of Granada (1584), 513-14, which compares the glory of celestial bodies with that of heaven.

⁹⁹ Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, sig. M8v.

shall endeavour our selfe to be semblable unto our head in mortifyinge our affections, which be our members upon the earth.¹⁰⁰

Thus, while many of the devotional methods Erasmus taught were similar to those espoused by the Catholic ascetics, he showed indifference towards the outward rituals which would have identified a devotee as either Roman Catholic or Protestant, emphasising the development of the inward person, instead. As Cornelius Augustijn noted, Erasmus's was "not the piety of the masses, but of the individual".¹⁰¹

The *Enchiridion* did not feature a plan of daily or weekly devotions, like the treatises of Loarte, Granada, Southwell and others. This may be a reflection of Erasmus's indifference towards monastic life, which was related to his view of outward forms of worship. He felt that the trappings of religious life were beneficial only inasmuch as they helped to establish virtue in the soul. And they were not for everyone: "The order of Monkeship is not pity but a kinde of living to every man after yê dispositiô of his body & his minde also, eyther profitable or unprofitable", he wrote, "wherunto verely as I do not courage the[e] so likewise I couÛsel not frô it."¹⁰² Erasmus upbraided those who were overly eager in their search for new recruits to monasticism, "as though without a roule, ther were no christendome".¹⁰³

At the same time, Erasmus clearly understood that the standard to which he called his readers was higher than most professed Christians would care to pursue. His audience was a select one, like those of the ascetic guides. This was underscored in his sixth rule, which insisted "that the mynd of him which enforceth and laboureth to Christe warde, varye as much as is possible both from the dedes and also opinions of the common lay people".¹⁰⁴ Like the soldier who leaves the comfort of civilian life to serve in battle, the Christian must also deny himself: "In his strength, and by him we shall overcome, if by hys ensampell we shall fight as he fought:" Erasmus warned, "wherefore thou muste kepe a meane course".¹⁰⁵

Erasmus wrote the *Enchiridion* several years before the kinds of reform that he promoted became associated with Protestantism, and it is not difficult to understand why his text was rejected by most Catholics and embraced by most

¹⁰⁰ Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, sig. U1v-2r.

¹⁰¹ Augustijn, *Erasmus*, 55.

¹⁰² Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, sig. Z3v.

¹⁰³ Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, sig. Z3r-v.

¹⁰⁴ Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, sig. P4r.

¹⁰⁵ Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, sig. E1v.

Protestants after the middle of the century, given his coolness towards ceremonies and monasticism. As seen here, his text was similar in some ways to the ascetic treatises described in the previous chapter, and it is likely that Erasmus's thought inspired some of the authors behind those works. Nevertheless, his *Enchiridion* features unique emphases and themes which distinguish it from that genre, and the fact that it was printed only once during Elizabeth's reign suggests that it did not wield as much influence during the late Tudor period as it had in earlier decades.

II.F. Prayer Books

Of all the English writings examined in this chapter, prayer books may best reflect the kind of devotional life that Elizabethans pursued and achieved, with varying degree, during the early decades of the queen's reign. Because the many unofficial collections of prayers and meditations that were published during this time were literary descendants of the Psalter and primer of earlier centuries, a brief history of these two influential works is provided here. The Book of Common Prayer, which also stands in the lineage of these earlier prayer books, is briefly mentioned as well.

II.F.1. Official Prayer Books: The Psalter, Primer and Book of Common Prayer

The Hebrew Psalms were used in public and private worship from the earliest days of Christendom. Before long, manuscripts containing the traditional 150 Psalms were supplemented with prayers and songs by other biblical figures, such as the *Magnificat*. According to Helen White, as early as the eighth century, the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer were added as well, building on a trend that would continue into the period under consideration.¹⁰⁶ (The primer first materialized within the Psalter and was comprised of various liturgical and didactic elements. It emerged as a separate book during the thirteenth century.) By the late medieval period the Psalter included a considerable number of now-familiar elements such as the Ten

¹⁰⁶ White, *Tudor Books*, 33.

Commandments, the *Ave Maria*, the Seven Works of Bodily Mercy, the Five Bodily Wits, the Seven Deadly Sins and their opposing virtues, and various contributions from the church's recognized spiritual masters, such as the hymn *Te Deum*, attributed to St. Ambrose.¹⁰⁷ The first Psalters composed by Protestants were basically streamlined versions of their medieval forebears, but some traditional elements remained in addition to the biblical core. For instance, *The Psalter or Psalmes of David, Corrected and Poynted*, which was commissioned by Edward VI in 1549 to accompany his first Book of Common Prayer, included in its order for matins and evensong the Litany and Suffrages, the *Magnificat*, and the *Te Deum*. This Edwardian Psalter was one of two in Green's sample that were printed throughout the Elizabethan period, and later as well. The other was *The Psalter or Psalmes of David with the Ordinarie Service*. Both were prefaced by the official order for evening and morning prayer, and some of the common Prayer Book services like the Litany and Collects. The latter was also furnished with a handful of supplications for special circumstances, such as "A generall confession of sinnes to be sayd every Morning", "A prayer against temptation" and "A prayer for the concorde of Christes Church".

The primer was a liturgical manual of instruction and set prayer well-suited to the lives of secular clergy and laypeople. It was the most popular devotional work of the medieval period, if one judges by the number of extant copies.¹⁰⁸ It emerged as an autonomous work during the thirteenth century, and developed around a core consisting of the Office of the Blessed Virgin and the Office of the Holy Cross, as mentioned in the previous chapter.¹⁰⁹ The Seven Penitential Psalms, the Fifteen Gradual Psalms, the Litany, the Office for the Dead and the Commendations were also standard ingredients. What was added to this varied from one edition to the next. As an accessible prayer book—"a rich storehouse of devotional materials, and an arsenal of tested and approved techniques of the spiritual life"—the primer became a popular resource for medieval laypeople who had both the means to afford a copy and the time to use it. Initially, only the wealthy obtained them, but poorer readers

¹⁰⁷ Michael Driscoll notes the difficulty in categorizing medieval liturgical books, which "easily surpass a hundred kinds", yet he distinguishes two branches: those centred on the Eucharist and those related to the Divine Office. Both the Psalter and primer fall under the second, with the Psalter being the oldest book in that category; see Michael S. Driscoll, "Books, Liturgical: Medieval", in *The New SCM Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship* (SCMDLW), ed. Colin O. Buchanan (London: SCM, 2002), 72.

¹⁰⁸ White, *Tudor Books*, 66.

¹⁰⁹ White, *Tudor Books*, 55-56.

eventually came to share an interest, as larger portions of the primer were produced in English, and the press brought its price down to more reasonable levels.¹¹⁰

Primers published during the early decades of the sixteenth century tend to reflect the uneven and laboured course of reform experienced during Henry VIII's period in office. In 1545 Richard Grafton printed an official Henrician primer that was fairly traditional, retaining most elements of the Marian Office.¹¹¹ These were removed from the Edwardian primer that William Seres published in 1553, and in their place readers found a multiplication of prayers designed for different people and situations: "Gentylmen", "Lawers", "Poore people", "For the gift of the holy ghoste", "For a good name", "For them that lye in extreme pangues of death".¹¹² Such "occasional" prayers, mentioned above in the example of one Elizabethan Psalter,¹¹³ would appear in many of the prayer books published in later decades. Many of them were probably taken from two collections of Thomas Becon's prayers, *The Flour of Godly Praiers* and the *Pomander of Prayer*.¹¹⁴ The primer of Mary I did not reflect a complete throwback to pre-Henrician Catholicism, as one might expect, but kept many of the prayers that had been added to Grafton's 1545 edition—even some written by Becon, and one by German reformer Wolfgang Capito.¹¹⁵

The Elizabethan *A Primer or Booke of Private Prayer* was a reissue of Henry VIII's 1545 version, with only the more obvious traces of veneration to the Virgin emended. William Seres continued to print new editions of the Edwardian primer after the Elizabethan Settlement as well. These two had modest appeal, qualifying for Green's list, but barely. During the latter half of the sixteenth century the primer lost much of its popularity, as the Book of Common Prayer and cheaper, more accessible texts with material similar to that in the classic primer took its place.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, it is probable that some printers attempted to capitalize on the nostalgic feelings towards the earlier primers which some of their potential customers harboured, by

¹¹⁰ White, *Tudor Books*, 56; even before print, Duffy notes, "many editions of the primer were produced for a wider and less affluent clientele"; *Stripping of the Altars*, 211.

¹¹¹ Official, *The Primer, Set Foorth by the Kynges Majestie and his Clergie* (London: 1545).

¹¹² Official, *A Prymmer or Boke of Private Prayer* (London: 1553).

¹¹³ See above, p. 100.

¹¹⁴ Duffy, "Continuity and Divergence in Tudor Religion", 191-92.

¹¹⁵ Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 541-42.

¹¹⁶ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 245. The Prayer Book itself became a means of attempting to hold on to traditional religion, as Duffy notes; *Stripping of the Altars*, 590.

fashioning newer prayer books in the style of these older books.¹¹⁷ There were two first-generation offshoots of the traditional primer which achieved considerable fame: *The ABC with the Catechisme*, an officially approved work that included the Prayer Book catechism and a small selection of prayers and “graces” for reading practice; and *A Primer and a Catechisme*, which contained everything in *The ABC*, but had a much wider selection of prayers, mostly from the Book of Common Prayer.¹¹⁸ The official Prayer Book was devised as a replacement for virtually all official liturgical books used in the Roman Catholic service: the breviary, the missal, the processional and the manual.¹¹⁹ It was chiefly a guide for use by the clergy, but whole versions were bought by more wealthy readers, and a large number of smaller portions, in various sizes, were sold for private use.¹²⁰

Even though these texts were designed as aids to the official service, they possessed at least one feature which is noteworthy for this study. While they did not lay out a full-fledged agenda of daily exercises for spiritual growth, they did testify to the legacy of the monastic office and the Roman liturgy, in the ritual of morning and evening prayer that was maintained in the Church of England. This habit was extended to the private lives of readers through the inclusion of prayers devised for specific times of the day, in the official Elizabethan *Primer or Booke of Private Prayer*, a text which also contained an eight-page “Preparative unto Prayer” offering the reader biblical grounds for and instruction on the exercise. This idea of a daily discipline, taught rigorously in most of the Catholic ascetic treatises discussed above, and expressed by a less strenuous pattern of set prayers in these English liturgical writings, would be resisted by many reformist ministers throughout the Elizabethan period. Yet, as this project aims to demonstrate, the impulse to devotional self-regulation, felt by these non-conformists as much—arguably more—than most conservative English clergy, would eventually manifest itself in a form that closely resembled the pattern laid down by Loarte, Granada and other Catholic ascetic writers, as later chapters will endeavour to show.

¹¹⁷ Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers, 1240–1570* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 171; and see Duffy, “Continuity and Divergence in Tudor Religion”, 193–200, which discusses John Day’s *A Booke of Christian Prayers Collected out of the Auncient Writers* (London: 1578), or “Queen’s Prayer-Book”, which contains a mix of traditional and reformed material, and which is adorned in the lavish style of some early Henrician primers.

¹¹⁸ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 183–84.

¹¹⁹ Colin O. Buchanan, “Books, Liturgical: Anglican”, in *SCMDLW*, 73–74.

¹²⁰ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 247–48.

II.F.2. Unofficial Books of Prayers and Meditations

Collections of prayers and meditations sold well in England before and after the Reformation. They shared much of the content of the traditional Psalter and primer, because authors borrowed material from these older forms and from one another quite frequently, sometimes crossing confessional boundaries in the process. In these works, the terms *prayer* and *meditation* were often used interchangeably. This ambiguity reflects the relatively imprecise understanding of spiritual exercises shared by most writers and readers of early, and even later, Elizabethan religious print. As will be seen, there were indications that some Protestant authors understood implicitly what the Catholic ascetic writers expressed plainly, but the teaching of the former was never as clear or as technical as that of the latter. Prayer in vocal form, much more than meditation, was taught as the chief means to and expression of a healthy spiritual life.

Ten writings from this group sold particularly well during this period. Seven of these were fairly uniform in structure and content, though some were much longer than others.¹²¹ In these seven more generic collections, one finds specific prayers grouped together according to a predictable set of liturgical, spiritual and circumstantial themes, or for individuals of a certain class, vocation or stage of life: “A prayer for the forgevenes of sinne”, “Prayers of the Magistrates”, “Of wyves”, “A thankesgeving unto God”, “A praier to be said at the houre of death”, etc.¹²² Many of the collections also contain paraphrases or expositions of the Creed, the Ten Commandments and the Lord’s Prayer. Traditional Psalms and services such as the Litany, *Ave Rex* and *Conditor Coeli* were commonly inserted as well.

While almost all of these books featured specific prayers or meditations for morning, evening and mealtime, two writers in the group actually specified prayers

¹²¹ These ten were Saint Augustine, *Certaine Select Prayers Gathered out of S. Augustines Meditations* (London: 1574); two anonymous works, *Thys Booke is Called The Treasure of Gladnesse* (London: 1563), and *A Godlie Gardeine* (London: 1569); *The Governauce of Vertue* (London: 1560) and *The Pomander of Prayer* (London: 1558), both by Thomas Becon; John Bradford, *Godlie Meditations Upon the Lordes Prayer, the Beleefe, and Ten Commaundementes* (London: 1562); Henry Bull, *Christian Prayers and Holy Meditations* (London: 1570); James Cancellar, *The Alphabet of Prayers* (London, 1564); Edward Dering, *Godlye Private Praiers for Housholders in Theyr Families* (London: 1576); and Johann Habermann, *The Enemie of Securitie or a Dailie Exercise of Godly Meditations*, trans. Thomas Rogers (London: 1579). The three which deviated from the common form, described below, are Augustine’s *Certaine Select Prayers*, Bradford’s *Godlie Meditations* and Bull’s *Christian Prayers and Holy Meditations*.

¹²² Becon, *Pomander of Prayer*, sig. A7r (“foregevenes”), B5r (“Magistrates”), D1v (“wyves”), G4r (“thankesgeving”), H1v (“death”).

for the days of the week: the anonymous author of *A Godly Garden*, first published in 1569; and Johann Habermann, the Lutheran whose German and Latin text, *The Enemie of Securitie*, had been translated by Thomas Rogers, ten years later.¹²³ The prayers in *A Godly Garden* are all general offerings of thanks, and pleas for spiritual provision; nothing more comprehensive than a habit of daily vigilance seems to be the intended fruit of such a plan. Habermann's strategy, which was more methodical, was based on the four-fold division of prayer used by the Apostle Paul in 1 Timothy 2:1 ("deprecations, supplications, intercessions, and giving of thanks"):

In this Booke I have had special regarde unto these four kindes of praier. For first, for every day of the weeke I have made a morning praier, containing both a thanksgiving for the blessed rest receaved, and a deprecation for the escaping of al evils which may happen in the day time. Afterwarde followeth a thanksgiving for some singular benefite receaved. Then two supplications or petitions, for blessings aswel eternal as temporal. Next unto them are placed two intercessions for men of everie state or degree. After them ensueth a praier against the sondrie enemies of Christs Church. And last of al, an evening praier, containing a thanksgiving unto God for his preserving of us in the day time, a deprecation that no evil hurt us in the night, and a petitions of his fatherlie protection, is annexed.¹²⁴

Thomas Rogers seems to have anticipated that some would resist being tied to the rigour and specificity of Habermann's regimen, and he attached a brief afterword that assured readers they were not bound, urging them to "praie in the name of Christ, and observe that order which thou knowest best to keepe thee in the feare, and favor of Almighie God."¹²⁵

In Habermann's work, as in many of these other prayer books, one finds traditional forms used to communicate a new, heavily Scripture-based ideal of Protestant piety. Habermann did not draw up his schedule of prayers in order to stir his readers' affections in a specific way, but because he believed it would foster obedience to a mandate revealed in Scripture. Likewise, Rogers hailed Habermann's text because of its biblical grounding: its "meditations" (prayers) were "wholly, as

¹²³ Johann Habermann, *The Enemie of Securitie or a Dailie Exercise of Godly Meditations*, trans. Thomas Rogers (London: 1579). As mentioned on p. 91, Rogers had also translated a treatise by Sheltco à Geveren, *Of the Ende of the World, and Second Coming of Christ*, in 1577. Thomas Rogers is discussed in chapter 5, pp. 118-23, 132-39.

¹²⁴ Johann Habermann, *The Enemie of Securitie or a Dailie Exercise of Godly Meditations*, trans. Thomas Rogers (London: 1579), sig. B6r.

¹²⁵ Habermann, *Enemie of Securitie*, 365.

fewe or no other praier Booke is that I knowe, taken out of the pure fountaines of the divine Scriptures".¹²⁶ Similarly, Edward Dering's *Godlye Private Praiers for Housholders in Theyr Families* included "A prayer to bee saide before the studying or reading of holy Scripture", and Thomas Becon's *The Pomander of Prayer* placed in the mouths of "housholders" the plea,

Graunt . . . that as thou hast blessed me with an household, so I may diligently watch that nothing bee committed of the same that might offend thy fatherly goodnes . . . but that so many as thou hast committed to my charg may aschew al vice embrace al vertue, live in thy feare call upon thy holy name, learne thy blessed commaundments, heare thy holy word, & avoyding idlenes, diligentlye exercise themselves everye one in his office according to their vication & calling unto the glory of thy most honorable name, amen.¹²⁷

And yet, it would not be accurate to say that devotional manuals of this period promoted nothing more than biblical education. As Simon Chan explains, there was a growing recognition among Protestant writers at this time of the distinctive functions of meditation and prayer, and of the potency of meditation as a catalyst to prayer.¹²⁸ This nascent awareness is most apparent in the other three texts in this set: *Godlie Meditations upon The Lordes Prayer, The Beleeefe, and Ten Commaundementes*, by John Bradford, published in three different editions in 1562, 1567, and 1578; *Certaine Select Prayers Gathered out of S. Augustines Meditations*, first published in 1574; and Henry Bull's large collection of *Christian Prayers and Holy Meditations*, printed in 1568, which used the prayers of Bradford and drew other material from the primers of Henry VIII and Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer.

Bradford's devotional teaching appears to have followed that of Calvin in some important ways. While teaching at Cambridge, Bradford befriended Martin Bucer, and in later life his theology became increasingly Reformed, so the influence of Geneva and Strasbourg may have been significant.¹²⁹ As mentioned above, Calvin's *Institutes* highlighted the value of meditation on Scripture, on the after-life and on divine providence. Bradford's collections were marked by the same emphases—not only his *Godlie Meditations*, but others as well. Moreover, his instruction on prayer reveals that he was aware of its affective component, which

¹²⁶ Habermann, *Enemie of Securitie*, sig. B2r.

¹²⁷ Thomas Becon, *Pomander of Prayer* (London, 1563), 22-23.

¹²⁸ Chan, "Puritan Meditative Tradition", 19-36.

¹²⁹ See Penny, "Bradford, John (c.1510–1555)", in *ODNB*.

would in later works be associated with the practice of “mental prayer” or meditation. A telling example is “A meditation concerning praier”, in which he extols prayer that engages both heart and mind: “This kind of prayer is the true liffting up of yê mind unto thee, this standeth in thaffections in the hart, not in wordes & in the mouth. As thy children be endued with thy spirit, so frequent they this talke [with] thee, the more thy spirit is in them, the more are they [in] talke with thee”, he wrote.¹³⁰ Finally, Bradford’s own example, as celebrated by those who compiled and published his works, was also instructive to readers in this regard. Rouland Hall, who printed the 1562 edition of his *Godlie Meditations*, spoke glowingly of Bradford’s spirituality: “Daylye and howerlye was this his exercise, to talke with god by faithfull and hartye meditation and praier with power pearcyng the heavens, and many such godlye exercises dyd he leave behinde him.” Hall exhorted readers to employ the martyr’s prayers as helps to their own piety: “Let us with thankfulnes receyve, reade, and practice these”, he wrote, “as meanes to quicken our spirites, to stirre up our dulle hartes to a more fervente invocatiô of gods holy name.”¹³¹

Several works rightly or wrongly attributed to St Augustine were published during the Elizabethan period. The material in *Certaine Select Prayers Gathered out of S. Augustines Meditations* is worth noting because it helps to underscore the distinctive function of meditation in stirring the affections, and in moving the devotee to prayer. This is demonstrated in a section which is aptly entitled, “By consideration of earthly benefites we conjecture the greatnes of the heavenly wisdom”, in which the writer prayerfully moves from reflection on lesser, temporal realities, to divine subjects:

For by these least thyngs, we comprehend thy great thynges: and by these visible thynges, we cōprehend thyne invisible thynges O holy Lord God, our good maker. For if thou send so great and so innumerable benefites unto me for this base & corruptible body of myne, from the skye and and the ayre, from the land and the Sea . . . to ease us of our wœrinesse: howe excellent I pray thee, and howe great and innumerable shal these good things be which thou hast prepared for them that love thee, in that heavenly realme, where we shall see thœ face to face?¹³²

¹³⁰ John Bradford, *Godlie Meditations Upon the Lordes Prayer, the Beleeefe, and Ten Commaundementes* (London: 1562), sig. J4v.

¹³¹ Bradford, *Godlie Meditations*, sig. A1r.

¹³² St Augustine, *Certaine Select Prayers Gathered out of S. Augustines Meditations, Which He Calleth His Selfe Talke with God* (London: 1574), sig. G7v.

Other prayers and meditations communicated the same doctrine, such as one teaching “That the remembrance of Christes woûdes is an effectuall remedy agaynst all adversities”, and another on “The musing of the soule upon the love of God”.¹³³

Henry Bull was a close friend of John Foxe, and with Foxe he sought to preserve the memory of the Marian martyrs.¹³⁴ Though his *Christian Prayers and Holy Meditations* appears to have been merely a longer version of the generic prayer books mentioned above, it possesses three features that are especially noteworthy, in light of the attributes identified in the ascetic texts in the last chapter. First, it began with “An Introduction to Prayer” that cited Scripture-driven reflection and earnestness as prerequisites to effective prayer:

Now although we knowe that it is the onely worke of the holy Ghost, thus to move and incline our hearts to prayer, notwithstanding we may not be negligent & slothfull to dispose and stirre up our selves thereunto, but rather contrariwise, so often as we feele our selves, colde and not disposed to prayer as we ought to be, we must make our supplication vnto the Lorde, that it woulde please him to inflame vs with his holy spirit, whereby wee maye be framed to pray with such fervencie of minde, as we ought to doe. . . . Nowe to stirre vp our heartes in consideration of our great miserie and necessitie to a more feruent prayer, the Lord himselfe hath commaunded vs to call vpon him for helpe and succour. Therefore let vs haue the commaundementes of God alwayes in our sight touching prayer, and whiles wee pray, let vs call them to our remembrance.¹³⁵

Second, Bull included several of Bradford’s prayers and meditations in his work, including “A meditation of yê providence of God”, his ascetic “A meditation concerning the sober usage of the body and pleasures in this life”, and “A meditation concerning prayer”, mentioned above.¹³⁶ And third, in a section entitled “Private Prayers for the morning and evening, and for other times of the day”, Bull provided fitting “Occasions to meditate”. For instance, readers were urged, after putting on daily raiment, to “Call to minde a little, how we are incorporate into Christ. Again, how he doth cloth us, governe and nourish us, and under his winges, protection, and

¹³³ St Augustine, *Certain Select Prayers*, sig. Q6r, Q8r.

¹³⁴ Bull helped Foxe to amass documents by the Marian martyrs, and in 1564 published *Certain Most Godly, Fruitful, and Comfortable Letters of . . . True Saintes and Holy Martyrs of God*, under Miles Coverdale’s name; see Susan Wabuda, “Bull, Henry (d. 1577)”, in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3904>> (31 July 2008).

¹³⁵ Henry Bull, ed., *Christian Prayers and Holy Meditations* (London: 1570), 8, 13.

¹³⁶ Bull, ed., *Christian Prayers*, 185, 192, 28.

providence preserveth us, &c.”¹³⁷ Bull also provided a list of “Cogitations meete to begin the day withall”.¹³⁸ These elements demonstrate a sensitivity to those readers who desired a more comprehensive devotional programme, even if these works do not match the sophistication of the Catholic ascetic treatises. Simon Chan has observed that “in terms of its scope, variety and teaching, Bull’s collection could well be regarded as representative of protestant devotional practice (or, perhaps more accurately, its understanding of devotional practice) in the mid-Elizabethan age”. At the same time, he notes, the view of spiritual exercises it expressed was relatively undeveloped.¹³⁹

Conclusion

Through this examination of early Elizabethan religious literature, it has been possible to demonstrate how unique the Catholic ascetic treatises described in the previous chapter truly were, in their structure, and in the teaching content they offered to readers. A brief summary of the observations noted in the preceding discussion, framed with reference to the traits identified in the writings of the Catholic ascetics, will help to underscore this point.

First, while authors such as Loarte and Granada took an approach which recognized that Christians pass through a sequence of stages on the path to perfection, early Elizabethan Protestant writings reflected a more static understanding of spiritual life.¹⁴⁰ Those who edited and compiled anthologies of prayers and meditations did address the various circumstances in which readers might find themselves—in preparing for the day’s work, in retiring to bed, or in time of illness, for example—but the prayers and meditations they contained were never categorised with reference to a sequence of stages of spiritual growth. Some catechisms were written with the young and the unlearned in mind, but the doctrines taught in these were the same as those covered in works for the mature. What nearly all religious works of the time lacked was an organized agenda to lead readers from spiritual immaturity to maturity.

¹³⁷ Bull, ed., *Christian Prayers*, 104, 109.

¹³⁸ Bull, ed., *Christian Prayers*, 110-13.

¹³⁹ Chan, “Puritan Meditative Tradition”, 33.

¹⁴⁰ See section II.A. of chap. 3, “Recognition of the Christian Life as a Dynamic Progression”, pp. 61-62.

Second, one may contrast the systematic treatment of spiritual exercises found in the Catholic ascetic treatises with the less developed approach reflected in the majority of Elizabethan religious writings.¹⁴¹ The texts of some bear witness to an undeveloped but emergent understanding of prayer and meditation similar to that held by the Catholic ascetic authors; specifically, those of Erasmus, Calvin, Bradford, Dering, Bull and the publisher of St Augustine's alleged musings. At the same time, vocal prayer was the unquestioned focus of spiritual devotion. Lessons on moderation and a general contempt of the world's vanities were fairly common, and a few sources discussed fasting as well. But the Catholic ascetic treatises identified spiritual exercises as a group, and provided more technical discussions for their use. Most significantly, perhaps, the ascetic writers' description of meditation was more sophisticated, and more precise.

Third, as regards a schedule of devotional practice, it has been shown that remnants of the monastic office and the Roman Catholic liturgy were preserved in the official service of the Edwardian and Elizabethan Settlements.¹⁴² Together with elements from some pre-Reformation textual sources, these helped to keep alive the literary tradition of assigning special responsibilities, prayers and meditations for the days of the week. Devotional schedules of varying types and degrees of complexity were offered in the works of Becon, the author of *The Godly Garden*, Habermann and Bull. In addition, many of the prayer books discussed contained prayers for morning, evening and mealtimes. As such, the devotional schedules found in some Catholic treatises were probably not as novel to English readers as other aspects of these works, though in the case Loarte's and Granada's manuals, their schemes were more elaborate than anything to be found on the Protestant side.

Fourth, while in their writings, the Catholic ascetics envisaged a relatively stringent rule of spiritual life, the same could not be said for the majority of Protestant authors mentioned here.¹⁴³ Granted, the standard to which they called readers was no doubt perceived by some as overly demanding, but few of their writings prescribed a carefully ordered devotional routine, with the exception of Becon's *Governaunce of Vertue*, Erasmus's *Enchiridion*, Habermann's *Enimie of Securitie* and Bull's *Christian Prayers and Holy Meditations*. It was common for preachers to lament the weak

¹⁴¹ See section II.B. of chap. 3, "Spiritual Exercises", pp. 62-65.

¹⁴² See section II.C. of chap. 3, "A Plan of Action", pp. 65-67.

¹⁴³ See section II.D. of chap. 3, "A Select Audience", pp. 67-69.

enthusiasm of the masses in their sermons, and to call for repentance, but the sermon was not a vehicle with which to lay out a full-fledged devotional regimen. And while some who published prayer books actually provided instruction on this discipline, and on meditation, the custom was to provide collections of written prayers for reading and repetition. In theory, literacy was all that one needed to recite prayers from a book; “mental prayer”, as described in the works of Loarte and Granada, would have required a considerable amount of added discipline and determination.

Through the analysis above, one can more easily understand how these Catholic texts would have been perceived when they first appeared within England’s borders. For the most part, the works discussed in this chapter manifested the basic approach that the young Protestant movement had taken to spiritual instruction—an approach expressed in conscious opposition to Catholic teaching. It was driven by emphases on Scripture and faith. Faith, over against works, was portrayed as the foundational possession of an orthodox Christian. To be genuine, it must have sound doctrine as its object, for which Scripture was understood to be the supreme source. Tradition, which Rome dignified alongside Scripture, was deliberately subordinated. Consequently, Protestant writers typically expounded passages, books or *topoi* from Scripture. If they did borrow conventions from pre-Reformation literary genres, they invariably altered these in a way that reflected their high view of Scripture and faith, as demonstrated above.¹⁴⁴ By contrast, the works of Loarte, Persons, Granada and the other ascetic writers discussed in chapter 3 were products of a tradition that had been evolving within the church for more than a millennium. It had strong roots in Scripture, to be sure, but the passing of time and the experience of generations had brought several extra-biblical innovations, of which Protestants were either ignorant or suspicious.¹⁴⁵ As the following chapters will demonstrate, the novelty of the Catholic ascetic treatises posed a challenge to Protestant ministers and writers in England, to which some felt a need to respond.

¹⁴⁴ For instance, Habermann’s *Enemie of Securitie*, discussed on pp. 104-105, offered readers a weekly devotional schedule based on the taxonomy of prayer forms in 1 Timothy 2:1, and Bull’s *Christian Prayers and Meditations*, discussed on pp. 107-108, gave directions for daily devotional observance that were devoid of the mention of commonplaces of Catholic worship like the Mass, the rosary and auricular confession, and of prayers such as the *Ave Maria*.

¹⁴⁵ An obvious example is the week-long regimen of meditations on the life and Passion of Christ, which the spiritual programme of Loyola and the published works of à Kempis, Loarte and Granada contained, but which was absent from Protestant prayer books and theological treatises.

PART TWO

PROTESTANT RESPONSES TO CATHOLIC ASCETIC LITERATURE

CHAPTER 5

CATHOLIC ASCETIC TREATISES "PURGED AND CORRECTED"

The novelty of the teaching found in the writings of Loarte, Persons, Granada and other Catholic ascetics has been set in relief by an examination of the most popular religious writings circulating in England around the time of their arrival. As will now be shown, these writings were not only unique among other English works, but appealingly so. The writers described in this and the following chapter—almost all Protestant—honoured these works through imitation, that “sincerest form of flattery”.¹ With the support of his fellow ministers, the puritan Richard Rogers wrote a spiritual manual after the pattern set by these Catholic guides, though he was loathe to acknowledge any debt his own treatise might owe to the Catholic adversary. The principal objectives of this study are addressed in his account, which is presented in the next chapter. The individuals featured immediately below, by contrast, showed candid approval for some Catholic ascetic writings. They were happy to publish these anew after ‘purifying’ them of material that Protestant readers might find unorthodox, and usually acknowledged the original authors’ names on the title page. Around fifty-five authorised editions of Catholic ascetic texts are recorded for the Elizabethan period. Remarkably, these outnumbered issues of Catholic ascetic tracts printed at Catholic-run presses by a ratio of more than two to one (see fig. 2 below).²

Two distinct phases of Elizabethan bowdlerisation can be distinguished. The first writers who used this strategy were Edward Hake, Thomas Rogers and Edmund Bunny. All three held robust Protestant convictions, and entertained some reformist sentiments, though Rogers later proved to be an outspoken conformist, and Bunny was a moderate puritan, at most. One might say their religious conservatism was manifested in their willingness to republish the Catholic texts in question, while the vigour of their Protestantism was expressed in their efforts to shape those texts into resources for a Protestant readership.

¹ Attributed to an English clergyman, Charles C. Colton; from his *Lacon: or Many Things in Few Words; Addressed to Those Who Think* (London: Longman, 1820).

² One of these legally-printed titles, Granada’s *The Sinners Guyde*, did not share all of the characteristics identified in the treatises discussed in chap. 3, but is included here because it touched upon ascetic themes, and because Francis Meres, its English editor, also published some other ascetic titles by Granada; see p. 56, n. 26 (continued from p. 55). Only two editions of this work were printed, in 1598 and 1600. Thus, the ratio cited remains the same, even if this title is excluded.

Less is known about the translators of Catholic works who flourished in the last ten years of the queen's reign, who occupy a second phase of Elizabethan bowdlerisation. Several of their works were released anonymously. Francis Meres and Thomas Lodge were the only writers from this later group to sign their publications, and neither displayed keen interest in ecclesiastical reform; Lodge, in fact, was almost certainly a Catholic. These figures offered little or no apology for their work, in spite of the origin of the writings they published and the heightened stigma attached to Roman Catholicism during this period. After an account of both stages of republication is given, a possible explanation for the change in the profile of early and late figures will be offered, and the significance of this shift discussed.

I. *The Imitation of Christ*: Edward Hake (1567) and Thomas Rogers (1580)

The first Protestant adaptation of a Catholic spiritual text appeared within a decade of Elizabeth's accession. From 1564 to 1567, Edward Hake (?–c.1604) was residing at Barnard's Inn in London. He lived there, according to Louis Knafla, as “part of that matrix of students who went to the inns more for entertainment and advancement than for a professional career in the high courts”.³ During this period, Hake wrote satirical verse and took time to translate Sébastien Châteillon's revised Latin version of *The Imitation of Christ* into English.⁴ He published this in 1567, and three more editions followed over the next four years. In his dedication to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, the premier peer of England and (at the time) a devoted supporter of Elizabeth's regime,⁵ Hake presented the work as one in which “no difficult questions are pursued (I meane in matters of religion) yet ghostly instructiôns

³ Unless otherwise indicated, biographical information on Hake is cited from Louis A. Knafla, “Hake, Edward (fl. 1564–1604)”, in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11881>> (3 October 2007).

⁴ Hake used Thomas à Kempis, *De Christo Imitando, Contemnendisque Mundi Vanitatibus Libellus*, trans. Sébastien Châteillon (Basel: 1563); his own version was called *The Imitation or Following of Christ, and the Contemning of Worldly Vanities* (London: 1567). See David Crane, “English Translations of the *Imitatio Christi* in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries”, *Recusant History* 13 (1975): 80. For information on Châteillon, see n. 36 on p. 78.

⁵ Two years after Hake's work was published, Norfolk fell under royal reproach when a plan outlining his marriage to Mary Stuart was uncovered; while incarcerated, he conspired in the Ridolfi Plot, and was found out, tried for treason and executed (despite the queen's reluctance) in 1572; Norfolk maintained his Protestant faith unto death, nevertheless; see Michael A. R. Graves, “Howard, Thomas, fourth duke of Norfolk (1538–1572)”, in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13941>> (1 Aug 2008).

and right Godly lessons at large are dilated . . . [and] amendment of lyfe and maners advanced".⁶ Hake was probably never called to the bar, but he did hold a series of government positions in Windsor, representing the town as an MP in 1588. *Epieikeia*, an unpublished manuscript he composed around that time, was his most prominent work. This was a three-part treatise on equity, a subject with which he had become familiar at the Inns of Chancery. He also wrote a handful of poetic satires and dialogues, in which he lamented various types of public vice and encouraged the godly education of children.

Hake's English *Imitation* bore some of the marks of the Protestant Châteillon's earlier work. Like the Frenchman—Hake mistook him for an Italian—he omitted à Kempis's fourth book, on the Eucharist, the content of which was probably too distinctly Roman Catholic to be elegantly revised. He also removed almost all references to things like prayer for the dead, religious orders, merit and purgatory, though he was not as thorough in this regard as Thomas Rogers, whose translation appeared a decade later. It is not surprising that the *Imitation of Christ* appealed to so many Protestant readers, with these alterations made; there was actually much with which they could agree in à Kempis's original text, as Ian Green has noted: "his criticisms of scholastic learning and of relics and pilgrimages, his stress on studying the Bible or hearing it read and the regular citation of scriptures in his own work . . . his comments about the small number of professing Christians that love Christ unfeignedly, and the need for grace in doing good works", for example.⁷ In the second and following editions of his *Imitation*, Hake made another change that would have pleased a reformed audience. He attached a treatise of unknown origin on "The perpetuall rejoyce of the Godly, even in this lyfe", in place of the original fourth book. This was a manifestly Protestant exhortation that presented faith in the finished work of Christ as a source of enduring happiness.

Notably, Hake made almost no comment about the Catholic origin of the *Imitation*, and what little he did say in the first edition of his translation was removed from later ones. The title page of his 1567 edition read, *The Imitation or Following of Christ, and Contemning of Worldly Vanities: At the First Written by Thomas Kempise a Dutchman, Amended and Polished by Sebastianus Castalio, an Italian, & Englished by E. H.* In his epistle "To the gentle Reader", he mentioned that the work had been

⁶ Kempis/Hake, *Imitation* (1567), sig. A2v-3r.

⁷ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 307.

"lately renewed, purged and polished by one of the best Latinistes that in oure tyme hath writtē", referring to Châteillon.⁸ On the title page of subsequent editions, however, à Kempis's name was removed. In its place the newly added treatise was mentioned: *The Imitation or Following of Christ, . . . Whereunto, as Springing out of the Same Roote, We Have Adjoynd Another Pretie Treatise, Entituled, The Perpetuall Rejoyce of the Godly, Even in Thys Lyfe*. His dedication to the Duke of Norfolk remained, but the former epistle "To the gentle Reader" was replaced with a longer address that made no mention of the text's provenance, but dealt instead with the worthiness of the subject treated therein: "Thou hast here (gentle Reader) the pathway to perfit lyfe. . . . Learne here wyth Christ to contemne the worlde, learne his modestie, his meekenesse and humilitie."⁹ Were the addition of an essay on the primacy of faith in Christ and the removal of à Kempis's name in later editions motivated by pressures from Hake's Protestant acquaintances, or by his own desire to appeal to a larger Protestant readership? One can only guess. Given that Hake was the first to publish a Catholic spiritual treatise under Protestant auspices, and had no precedents to follow, it is plausible that his initial expectations about the reception his work would be given were mistaken. He or someone close to him may have decided that the work's Catholic associations should be made less conspicuous in subsequent editions.

It seems likely, at least, that Hake had contacts with the growing puritan community in London. The printer of the first edition of his *Imitation*, Henry Denham, had been fined the previous year (1566) for printing an anti-vestments tract by Robert Crowley, called *A Briefe Discourse Against the Outwarde Apparell of the Popishe Church*, which Collinson has called "the earliest puritan manifesto".¹⁰ This was the second work of Crowley's that Denham had printed. Hake's own views are revealed in a satirical text he published just a few years later, in 1574: *A Touchestone for This Time Present Expressly Declaring Such Ruines, Enormities, and Abuses as Trouble the Churche of God and our Christian Common Wealth at this Daye*.¹¹ In it he denounced the church's faults in rather general terms, and avoided blaming the

⁸ Kempis/Hake, *Imitation* (1567), sig. A4r-5v.

⁹ Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation or Following of Christ, and the Contemning of Worldly Vanities*, trans. Edward Hake (London: 1568), sig. A4r.

¹⁰ Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 77; See Patricia Brewerton, "Denham, Henry (fl. 1556–1590)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7477>> (accessed 1 Aug 2008).

¹¹ Edward Hake, *A Touchestone for This Time* (London: 1574).

Crown, but he did underline the very grievances upon which someone like Crowley or John Field might take a stand:

Yet I do lament (& so may al true English hearts) that our sinnes are so greivous, as by the occasion therof, the lord doth deny in the time of so chast, so wise, so godly, zelous, & so learned a Prince (as is our most drad soveraigne Ladye *Queene Elizabeth*, whose life with joyned harts & hands let us cry, cry unto the Lord to lengthen) within this Realme of England to bring to perfection that which he hath begon: to abolish from her people al rennants [sic] of popery, & to supplant the hipocritical & unlearned ministerye.¹²

In the same work Hake criticised those in the upper tiers of the church who prevented able ministers from serving, “which not only them selves are contented to stop the roomes of learned preachers, but also devilishly doo bring in most horrible crewes of cursed Chaplins, & notorious numbers of monstrous unlearned Sicophants, which take the fleece, & starve the flocke”.¹³ In the Parliament of 1571, puritan representatives had sought to loosen the subscription requirements placed upon ministers of their persuasion, and had been rebuffed. That year “marked a critical stage in the estrangement of the puritans and the bishops”, Collinson notes.¹⁴ In response, John Field and Robert Wilcox had published their inflammatory *Admonition to the Parliament*, for which they were imprisoned. One section of that work was a “View of popish abuses yet remaining in the English Church”, a title not unlike that which Hake released just two years later. His willingness to publish such a text, at such a time, says a great deal about his religious sentiments. And yet, Hake apparently saw nothing illogical in the near-simultaneous publication of one work written by a Catholic, and another that called for the eradication of popery from the church. His regard for the teaching of Thomas à Kempis seems to have outweighed any reservations he had about the monastic leader’s religious identity. In spite of its author’s attachment to an institution he called the “Romish Dragon”, he deemed the *Imitation of Christ* worthy of preservation.

In 1580, Thomas Rogers published a new translation of à Kempis’s spiritual classic. Rogers was twenty-seven and only recently ordained, but this did not mark his debut in print.¹⁵ His first treatise had appeared in 1576, the year he proceeded MA

¹² Hake, *Touchestone*, sig. B3v-4r.

¹³ Hake, *Touchestone*, sig. B7v.

¹⁴ Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 117.

¹⁵ See Craig, “Thomas Rogers (c.1553–1616)” in *ODNB*.

from Christ Church, Oxford. Five others had followed before he came to the *Imitation*.¹⁶ By that time, four of his previous works had been reprinted as new editions, reissues or abridgments. In 1581, the year following the appearance of his *Imitation*, he published four new titles.¹⁷ The majority of these early works were translations of writings by Continental Lutherans or pre-Reformation figures like St Augustine and à Kempis. In later years Rogers would delve into apologetic and polemic writing, finding mixed success. His version of the *Imitation* became the standard during the Elizabethan period, and continued to be printed well into the next century. Seventeen editions appeared before 1640.

The scholar who looks past Rogers's economic interests will find a pastoral rationale that helped to fuel his prolific literary output. Rogers saw print as a vital means of building up the church, alongside preaching. "For as I graunt that VIVA VOX, or . . . the lively voice of man doth most forceable enter into the harte, and effectually perswade," he had written near the beginning of his career, "so can it not be denied but that the wrightinges of godly men, through the secrete working of the holy spirite, doe marvelously move, and many times converte even from dissolute behaviour to honest conversation, and from filthiness of life to the feare of God."¹⁸ To readers harried by portents of religious and political conflict, Rogers depicted the printed word as a divinely ordained safeguard for orthodoxy, against the loss of more traditional institutions:

The truth may be stopped; the beste Preachers may be lothed; Wolves and hirelings may come in: . . . and good men . . . bee lothed, though the mouthes of some through Mammon be stopped, yet will the promise and purpose of God take place, his servauntes shalbe instructed, his enemies shalbee tolde their faultes, all shall knowe their dueties towards God, their Prince, their betters, their equals, their inferiours, themselves, though not by wordes of

¹⁶ *A Philosophicall Discourse, Entitled, The Anatomie of the Minde* (London: 1576); the other five were a translation of Sheltco à Geveren's *Of the Ende of This World, and Second Comming of Christ* (London: 1577); one of Philipp Caesar's *A General Discourse Against the Damnable Sect of Usurers Grounded Uppon the Worde of God* (London: 1578); one of Johann Habermann's *The Enimie of Securitie* (London: 1579); and *A Golden Chaine, Taken Out of the Rich Treasurehouse the Psalmes of King David* (London: 1579).

¹⁷ Titles published by T. Rogers in 1581 (all from London): *A Right Christian Treatise, Entitled S. Augustines Praiers*; *S. Augustines Manuel Containing Special, and Piked Meditations, and Godlie Praiers*; a translation of Niels Hemmingsen's *The Faith of the Church Militant Moste Effectualie Described in This Exposition of the 84. Psalmes*; and *The General Session Containing an Apologie of the Most Comfortable Doctrine Concerning the Ende of this World, and Seconde Comming of Christ*.

¹⁸ Philipp Caesar, *A General Discourse against the Damnable Sect of Usurers*, trans. Thomas Rogers (London: 1578), sig. 2v.

mouth, yet by wrighting. . . . And therefore doth God in these daies, more than at any time, and in Englande (verie strangely if it be well considered) stir up, and incense the mindes of some to wright, of others to translate: whereby as we enioie externall happines more than many nations about us, so are wee blessed with the ritches of the soule more than all the world againe.¹⁹

These comments appeared in the dedicatory preface to a Lutheran treatise, but one may assume Rogers held the same pastoral perspective two years later, when he published the *Imitation of Christ*.

If Hake had felt some obligation to defend the republication of a Catholic work, Rogers must have felt more. Between 1571, when the last edition of Hake's *Imitation* had been printed, and 1580, when Rogers's translation appeared, some 100 missionary priests had come to England from William Allen's Douai seminary, beginning in 1574. They had brought over a substantial number of illegal books, adding to the stream of Catholic literature that had begun to flow several years earlier. Most were polemical texts, rosary guides, primers and the like, but in 1579, the year before Rogers took his own *Imitation* to press, Loarte's *The Exercise of a Christian Life* had appeared—the first contemporary Catholic ascetic text to be distributed in England. The Crown's unease over these developments was reflected in stricter legislation governing recusants and exiles. Anxieties were exacerbated in 1580, when the publication of texts by Robert Persons and Edmund Campion, and the capture and execution of Campion, uncovered a new campaign by English Jesuits to support other Catholic operations in England. But Thomas Rogers was prepared for these challenges. He was a trained minister, unlike Hake, and he provided a more lengthy justification for his own translation than his predecessor had, though his defence was essentially the same: the *Imitation of Christ* was a commendable text, and whatever it contained that might offend had been removed. The most significant change Rogers made to the work was his addition of copious Scripture references.

Rogers claimed the *Imitation* was a source of "wisedome, and godlines", its "worthines" having been attested by the number of times it had been translated anew.²⁰ He drew attention to the improvements he had made in the work, in answer to those who would question the need for a second Protestant English translation. On the

¹⁹ Caesar, *General Discourse*, sig. 3r-v.

²⁰ From the title page: *Of the Imitation of Christ, Three, Both for Wisedome, and Godlines, Most Excellent Bookes; Made 170. Yeeres Since by One Thomas of Kempis, and for the Worthines Thereof Oft Since Translated Out of Latine Into Sundrie Languages.*

one hand, he had removed four objectionable sentences alluding to the sign of the cross, merit and purgatory, which Hake and Châteillon had overlooked. Like these earlier translators, Rogers had completely removed Book Four of the work, on the Eucharist. (He made this deletion explicit on his title page, with the mention of “Three . . . most excellent bookes”.) On the other hand, he had restored a handful of “godlie sentences” that were found in a Latin version pre-dating both Hake and Châteillon, which both had failed to include.²¹

Most important of all, perhaps, he had augmented the work with a host of Scripture references. To Protestants, one of the most appealing aspects of the *Imitation* was its author’s apparent familiarity with the sacred word. Indeed, Rogers perceived à Kempis as a kind of proto-Protestant, and portrayed him in this way to readers. In comments on à Kempis’s *Soliloquium Animae*, a short work that appeared with editions of the *Imitation* after 1592 (in place of the original fourth book), Rogers expressed his assurance that this Brother of Common Life, “howsoever living in a Popish time, was yet in hart no Papist, but would like well of that which is doon”—referring to that which he himself had done, through translation and revision.²² Rogers not only cited chapter and verse for the many biblical allusions in the work; he also modified the text itself, to make it conform more exactly to the phrasing of Scripture. This had not been an easy task, he candidly admitted, adding that his printer, Henry Denham—the same Denham who had published Hake’s *Imitation* a decade before—had been the one to recommend such enhancements.²³ Rogers spoke of his “zeale to set forth good bookes for the advancement of viture, and care to publish them as they ought to be”.²⁴ Denham may have provided Rogers with the kind of shrewd counsel he needed to promote such a work during a period of amplified anti-Catholic feeling.

²¹ See Thomas à Kempis, *Of the Imitation of Christ, Three, Both for Wisedome, and Godlines, Most Excellent Bookes*, trans. Thomas Rogers (London: 1580), sig. A9^r-10^v. This student has not been able to identify the specific earlier version of the *Imitation* to which Rogers referred. One possibility is an edition which was wrongly attributed to Jean Gerson, called *De Imitatione Christi: et de Meditatione Cordis*, published in Paris in 1492. This was the edition that Richard Whitford and Margaret Beaufort had used for their English translations, respectively printed in 1502 and 1504 (see n. 8, p. 51).

²² Thomas à Kempis, *Soliloquium Animae. The Sole-Talke of the Soule. Or, a Spirituall and Heavenlie Dialogue Betwixt the Soule of Man and God*, trans. Thomas Rogers (London: 1592), sig. A4^r.

²³ See n. 10 on p. 117 above.

²⁴ Kempis/T. Rogers, *Imitation* (1580), sig. A9^r.

Rogers claimed that he had “left out nothing but what might be offensive to the godlie . . . neither for quantitie much, nor for number above foure sentences”.²⁵ Unless this is interpreted as a reference to changes he made to the editions of Hake and Châteillon alone, it must be taken as an understatement. A comparison between his edition of the *Imitation* with that of Richard Whitford, the only Catholic whose version was published during the Elizabethan period, reveals several telling changes that were made to the original text. These included Rogers’s use of the term “true Christian” in the place of “good religious”, and the shortening of “holy fathers and blessed Saintes” to “those holie fathers”.²⁶ The striking omission revealed in the following excerpt—not one of the four alterations he made to the versions of Hake and Châteillon—demonstrates how much editorial license Rogers employed in the name of mere translation:

Whitford:

It behoveth thee to breake thine owne wil in many thinges, if thou wilt have peace and concorde with other. It is no litle thing to be in monasteries or in congregations, and to continue there without complayning or missaying, and faithfully to persever there unto the ende: Blessed are they that there live wel, and make a good ende. If thou wilt stand surely in grace, & mucche profite in vertue, holde thy selfe as an outlaw, and as a pilgrime here in this life.²⁷

Rogers:

Thou must bridle, & breake thy wil in many things, if thou wilt live a quiet life. And if thou wouldst stande upright, and go forward in godlines, account thy selfe in this world but a banished man, and a pilgrime.²⁸

David Crane has provided a sizeable list of changes Rogers (and to a great extent, Hake and Châteillon before him) made in the process of revision: “[Rogers] omits reference to the religious life, religious superiors, Rule, Obedience and vocation; . . . All reference to Purgatory is omitted. . . . The Pope becomes the proud Pope, and prayer for the dead and intercession for the saints are not mentioned”, for instance.²⁹

²⁵ Kempis/T. Rogers, *Imitation* (1580), sig. A9v.

²⁶ See Kempis/T. Rogers, *Imitation* (1580), chaps. 18 and 19.

²⁷ Kempis/Whitford, *The Folowing of Christ* (1585), sig. C8r-v; for information on Whitford’s translation, see Crane, “English Translations of the *Imitatio Christi*”: 79-80.

²⁸ Kempis/T. Rogers, *Imitation* (1580), 32.

²⁹ Crane, “English Translations of the *Imitatio Christi*”: 83-84.

Perhaps, by playing down the amount of disagreeable material he corrected, Rogers was hoping to convince his readers that the ideal of piety to which à Kempis pointed was the same as that the godly of his day espoused.

Rogers made an intriguing statement in one of the prefaces to his *Imitation*, providing a glimpse into the appeal that the Catholic ascetic treatises may have held for Protestants like him. While expressing his confidence in the method of bowdlerisation he employed, he spoke of “other bookes, that I could name, excellent for manie good points, yet for some things superstitious, purged and corrected, sure I am, both God would greatlie like therof, and manie men would then reade them, who now reject them; and much profit would be reaped, whereas now there is either litle or no profit at al taken.”³⁰ In other words, Protestants had not yet taken full advantage of the resources on hand—those containing “some things superstitious”. Was Loarte’s *Exercise of a Christian Life* one of the books he had in mind? It is impossible to know for sure. That work was eventually republished by an anonymous Protestant, in 1594; and Rogers would himself edit and release another Catholic treatise, six years after writing these words.³¹ In the meantime, another clergyman, inspired by his *Imitation*, would discover even greater success in the process of adapting and reprinting a new Catholic devotional text.

II. Edmund Bunny: *A Book of Christian Exercise, Appertaining to Resolution* (1584)

Several scholars have recounted the story of how Edmund Bunny modified (or plagiarized) Robert Persons’s popular treatise, *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise, Appertayning to Resolution*.³² Bunny’s endeavour was a major event in the

³⁰ Kempis/T. Rogers, *Imitation* (1580), sig. A11r.

³¹ This was Diego de Estella’s *The Contempe of the World, and the Vanitie Thereof*, trans. George Cotton ([Rouen]: 1584), which Rogers renamed *A Methode Unto Mortification* (London: 1586). His edition is described below, in section 3 of this chapter.

³² Some essays have been dedicated to the Persons-Bunny conflict, e.g., Robert McNulty, “‘The Protestant Version’ of Robert Parsons’ *the First Booke of the Christian Exercise*”, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 22 (1959); Brad S. Gregory, “‘The True and Zealouse Seruice of God’: Robert Parsons, Edmund Bunny, and *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise*”, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45 (1994); and Victor Houlston, “Why Robert Persons Would Not Be Pacified: Edmund Bunny’s Theft of *The Book of Resolution*”, in *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 1996). Other works, on related subjects, have also mentioned the event, e.g., Chan, “Puritan Meditative Tradition”, 49-53;

history of early modern print, by any measure. Robert Persons, himself a famous early modern Catholic, had already gained a large share of fame by the time this text first went to press, in 1582. Bunny's version debuted two years later, and by 1640 some forty-seven editions had appeared—fifteen in 1585, alone.³³ Near the end of Elizabeth's reign, the puritan Richard Rogers would remark that Persons's book "had been in the hands of thousands".³⁴ Aside from its entertaining aspects, the Persons-Bunny story bears convincing witness to the relatively immature state of the Protestant devotional tradition in the late sixteenth century. When viewed as part of a diachronic narrative alongside other bowdlerisation projects from the same period, it also throws light on the changing attitudes of Elizabethan Protestants towards the appropriation of Catholic religious texts. The historical evidence affirms that Bunny, a beneficed clergyman with some puritan sympathies, found much to like in Persons's pietistic guide, and aside from some important but predictable corrections, he preserved in his own Protestant version the same call to disciplined piety that the Jesuit promoted. Like Hake and Rogers before, Bunny also anticipated objections from those who would not commend the reprinting of a Catholic work, and took pains to disarm them.

As implied in its preface, Persons designed his treatise to prepare readers for Loarte's *Exercise*. His *First Booke* would help them "to resolve . . . to serve God in deed"; Loarte's, "to begynne a right". Eventually, Persons hoped to write a third work, a plan that was never realised, teaching the saints how "to persevere unto the ende".³⁵ Scholars disagree about his manual's sources, but almost all grant the influence of the Ignatian *Spiritual Exercises*—particularly those characterising the first week.³⁶ All copies of the 1582 version were quickly distributed. Two years later another edition was produced in Rouen, about which Persons claimed he knew

Hudson, "Catholic Challenge", 3-6; Victor Houlston, introduction to Robert Persons, *The Christian Directory (1582): The First Booke of the Christian Exercise, Appertayning to Resolution*, ed. Victor Houlston (Leiden: Brill, 1998), xi-xlvii; Keenan, "Jesuit Casuistry or Jesuit Spirituality?", 629-31; and Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 308-09.

³³ Keenan, "Jesuit Casuistry or Jesuit Spirituality?", 630.

³⁴ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. B1v.

³⁵ Persons, *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise, Appertayning to Resolution* ([Rouen]: 1582), sig. A1v.

³⁶ See Keenan, "Jesuit Casuistry or Jesuit Spirituality?", 631. As Driscoll points out, a tradition of attributing the content of Persons's text to Loarte began with Bunny himself, and has continued into the modern period; "The Supposed Source of Persons's 'Christian Directory'", 236. Victor Houlston believes that Granada's *Sinners Guide* played a bigger part than Driscoll himself indicated; see Houlston, introduction to Persons, *The Christian Directory (1582)*, xxxii-xxxvi.

nothing.³⁷

Edmund Bunny had proceeded MA from Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1565, having been disinherited by his father for his choice of divinity over law.³⁸ He was a fellow at Merton College for five years, earning the degree of BTh in 1570. He quickly gained the reputation of an able preacher. In 1565 he had been taken under the patronage of Edmund Grindal, who as Bishop of London collated him to the prebend of Oxgate in St Paul's Cathedral, and ordained him deacon. When Grindal was translated to the archbishopric of Yorkshire, in 1570, he took Bunny as one of his chaplains, and appointed him subdean upon his arrival there. He received the prebend of Wistow in York Minster and the generous living of Bolton Percy, just east of York, in 1575, and he was there in 1582, when Persons's treatise on resolution first began to circulate. Bunny claims he was loaned a copy of the work by a friend—a credible assertion, given Yorkshire's considerable Catholic population. As Bunny later explained to Archbishop Edwin Sandys,³⁹ his superior and the patron of his own *Book of Christian Exercise*,

After by mine own experience, I perceived, that the booke insuing was willingly read by divers, for the persuasion that it hath to godlines of life, which notwithstanding in manie points was corruptly set down: I thought good in the end, to get the same published againe in some better manner than now it is come foorth among them; that so the good, that the reading therof might otherwise do, might carrie no hurt or danger withal, so far as by me might be prevented.⁴⁰

Bunny expressed to Sandys how important his endorsement would be, given "the perswasion of some, that no such work as is at the first so corrupt in it selfe, should be brought forth to life by any of us, though never so warily we purged it".⁴¹ In a region of strong Catholic activity, one can imagine the added sensitivity to which Protestants would be given about an effort like Bunny's. Perhaps to convince the archbishop (and his readers) further, Bunny invoked Châteillon and Rogers, two pioneers of the

³⁷ McNulty, "Protestant Version": 273, n. 4.

³⁸ Biographical details have been drawn from William Joseph Shiels, "Bunny, Edmund (1540–1618)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3943>> (19 December 2007).

³⁹ See Patrick Collinson, "Sandys, Edwin (1519?–1588)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24649>> (31 July 2008).

⁴⁰ Robert Persons, *A Booke of Christian Exercise, Appertaining to Resolution*, ed. Edmund Bunny (London: 1584), sig. 2r.

⁴¹ Persons/Bunny, *Resolution* (1584), sig. 3v.

method he now employed, who had “done very wel, in that litle book of *Kempicius*, that is called the Imitation of Christ, leaving out the corruption of it, & taking onlie that which was sounde”.⁴² These precedents gave credibility to his own undertaking. But instead of downplaying the original author’s Catholic status, as his predecessors had done, Bunny actually used it as a selling point. He invited readers to study the work, not only for personal edification, but also as a peace-building exercise:

And whereas inordinate contention is not onely unseemely for the Church of God, but also hurteful to the cause of religion, a speciall point of wisdom it is, when God hath bestowed anye good gift on any of us all, that others should so esteeme therof, as that they make the same a meane to moderate the bitterness of their affections towards al those, that gladly would live peaceably with all, so much as they might: . . . So the substance of the book is such, as that a mind that is wel disposed, may with one, and the selfsame labour, gather out of it, both lessons of godlines unto it selfe: and that which may somewhat occasion some better agreement among certain of us.⁴³

Consistent with this irenic posture, Bunny appended “a Treatise tending to Pacification” to his edition, which conceded that the Catholic Church was a true church, but urged its members to consider the more prominent errors in Roman doctrine. Like other Protestant boulderisers, Bunny also drew attention to the necessary changes he had made to the original work to make it agreeable to Protestants. A brief review of these changes will be helpful for the study at hand.

Bunny expressed praise for the “substance” of Persons’s work, while offering reservations about its “form”. By these he referred to its message and the terms used in it, respectively. A perusal of both versions reveals that his alterations were consistent with this evaluation: he retained the *Resolution*’s main message, while altering and omitting some of the theological terms Persons used. Importantly, Bunny’s and Persons’s works stood on the same basic premise, namely, that prolonged reflection on the timeless truths of Christianity—*consideration*, in the parlance of the authors—could effectively move readers from a state of spiritual tepidity to one of zealous devotion, and to the “resolution” required of God’s true saints. The format of their respective treatises reflected this idea. Each was divided into two parts, with the first laying out the relevant truths to be considered, in

⁴² Persons/Bunny, *Resolution* (1584), sig. 4r.

⁴³ Persons/Bunny, *Resolution* (1584), sig. 7v-8r.

protracted, meditative form, and the latter addressing objections that might prevent some from making the pivotal spiritual commitment. The uniformity of the messages in both works has been emphasised by Brad Gregory. "The sorts of Christians each wanted to create", he writes, "would have had much in common: they would have been self-conscious, scrupulous in avoiding sin, active in doing good works, steadfast in turning away from all worldliness while constantly serving God and reflecting on his precepts."⁴⁴ That pious orientation, which Gregory calls "rigorous religion", was summarised by Persons, who observed "what an exacte lyfe the trew lyfe of a Christian is: which is a continuall resistance to all sinne, bothe in thought, word and deede, and a performance or exercise of all good woorkes, that possibilie he can devise to doe".⁴⁵ Bunny preserved this and other statements like it in his own version.

Even so, it would be unwise to minimise the aspects of Persons's *Resolution* that Bunny altered. Both texts may have produced the same kind of psychological effect, but historical circumstances did not encourage readers moved to such resolution to remain neutral in their religious confession.⁴⁶ Bunny was gratified by the semi-ecumenical, conciliatory remarks with which "R. P." prefaced his devotional treatise, but he knew there were several cues in the work that would endear its readers to Rome. Such concerns were legitimate. John Gerard, an English Jesuit and protégé of Persons, later referred to Persons's work as "a most useful and wonderful book which I believe has converted more souls to God than it contains pages".⁴⁷ What might sound like an exaggeration has been corroborated by Michael Questier, who has observed that more of the converts in the English College in Rome said that their conversions were the result of reading Persons's book than any other.⁴⁸ Bunny himself testified that the work was "read by divers" in his time. By publishing a version of the text that upheld key Protestant tenets, he could exploit Persons's winsome approach to steer readers towards Protestantism. This strategy promised more than the writing of a polemical tract or another work of devotional prose. Robert McNulty remarks: "Not the subject [of salvation] but *this book* had to be dealt with, and Bunny's course in

⁴⁴ Gregory, "True and Zealouse Service of God": 254.

⁴⁵ Persons, *Resolution* (1582), 36; the same is repeated in Persons/Bunny, *Resolution* (1584), 30; cited in Gregory, "True and Zealouse Service of God": 253.

⁴⁶ On conditions in sixteenth-century England which precluded religious tolerance, see Eamon Duffy, "Continuity and Divergence in Tudor Religion", 171-77.

⁴⁷ John Gerard, *The Autobiography of a Hunted Priest*, trans. Philip Caraman (New York: 1952), 2. Cited in Gregory: 240.

⁴⁸ Questier, "'Like Locusts over All the World'", 278.

dealing with it more than neutralized it, as a published attack might at best have done.”⁴⁹ Gregory agrees: “Although Parsons planned to lead readers through devotion to true doctrine, his strategy seriously backfired. Bunny’s version proved the work could be appropriated and published with the important practical implications intact.”⁵⁰

While most of Bunny’s revisions were aimed at the more obviously distinctive Catholic terms which Persons had employed, some were motivated by his earnest Calvinist convictions. Like Châteillon, Hake and Rogers, he removed passages mentioning purgatory, prayers for the dead, angelic prayers, and the giving of alms for the purchase of merit. He removed all classification of sins as either *mortal* or *venial*, and the use of the terms *satisfaction* and *penance*. Some changes reflected the difference between Catholic and Protestant convention, more than doctrinal variation: whereas Persons frequently used the phrase *Our Lord*, following the Rheims New Testament, Bunny wrote simply, *the Lord*. More fundamentally, though, Bunny was determined to conform the language of Persons’s work to a narrow Calvinist standard. He was careful to change almost all use of terms like *perhaps*, *haply*, *perchance* and *fortunate*, believing these to be inconsistent with a belief in divine sovereignty: “And better were it a great deal to say, that such things are the hand of God”.⁵¹ He was frustrated to find, at several points in the third and fourth chapters of the first part of Persons’s work, the claim that humankind was created “to serve God in this life, and by that service to gayne everlastinge glorye in the life to come”. Bunny shortened each of these to read, “for no other cause or end, but onlie to serve God in this life”, not willing to allow any implication that salvation was merited to stand.⁵² “Freedome of wil, and merite of works, were indeed jolly matters to puffle us up higher in our own estimation: but we can be prowde enough without them”, he wrote in his “Treatise tending to Pacification”: “Sufficient for us it ought to be, that we may be saved: let us leave the glorie therof wholly to God, and take no parte therof too our selves.”⁵³

In 1585 Persons was preparing a new edition of his own *Resolution* in Rouen.

⁴⁹ McNulty, “Protestant Version”: 275-76.

⁵⁰ Gregory, “True and Zealouse Service of God”: 267.

⁵¹ Persons/Bunny, *Resolution* (1584), 376, margin; cited in McNulty, “Protestant Version”: 277-78.

⁵² Persons, *Resolution* (1582), 25; Persons/Bunny, *Resolution* (1584), 18; cited in McNulty, “Protestant Version”: 282.

⁵³ Persons/Bunny, *Resolution* (1584), Bb7^r; cited in McNulty, “Protestant Version”: 281.

While it was at the press, he received a copy of Bunny's version. Not surprisingly, he was thoroughly incensed by the alterations, and added a scathing and lengthy segment on Bunny in the preface of his next edition, which he entitled *A Christian Directorie Guiding Men to Their Salvation. ... Set Forth Now Againe with Many Corrections, and Additions by th'Authour Him Self, with Reprofe of the Corrupt and Falsified Edition of the Same Booke Lately Published by M. Edm. Buny*. Persons spurned Bunny's implication that his original text had represented a mollifying gesture to English Protestants, and now forcefully equated seeking God's honour and living piously with recusant Catholicism. His response to Bunny extinguished any hopes for ecumenical understanding the latter may have entertained. His 1585 *Christian Directorie* insisted that adherence to specific Catholic doctrines was necessary for salvation.

At one point in his rejoinder, Persons contrasted the rich store of Catholic devotional literature with the small number of Protestant works on piety. This comparison led him to write a challenge that would prove especially irritating to Bunny and other Protestants: "I would demande of M. Buny in sincerite, where or when, any of his religion did either make or set forthe (of them selves) any one treatise of this kinde or subject? I meane, of devotion pietie and contemplation? Of ours I can name infinite both of times past and present."⁵⁴ Persons cited several, including those of St. Bernard, Bonaventura, Anselm, á Kempis, Granada and even his own, "this present booke". He then chided Bunny for his plagiarism, identifying it as a disgraceful practice necessitated by an obvious deficiency on the Protestant side:

M. Buny is not able to name one on his side, from the first heretique that ever wrote, unto this daie, which of his owne accorde hath employed him self in this subject, except it were of envie and malice to defile and corrupt an other mans labours, to the end they should not worke that good effect, which otherwise they would, as M. Buny hath now done mine.⁵⁵

Was Persons's claim justified? Had Protestants failed to produce any original works of "devotion pietie and contemplation"?⁵⁶ Bunny's answer to this allegation reveals that he and the Catholic writer ascribed different meanings to these terms. While it is

⁵⁴ Robert Persons, *A Christian Directorie Guiding Men to Their Salvation* ([Rouen]: 1585), sig. B2r.

⁵⁵ Persons, *Christian Directorie* (1585), sig. B2r-v.

⁵⁶ Persons, *Christian Directorie* (1585), sig. B2r

true that Protestants had written texts which engendered religious fervor and spiritual growth, it seems apparent that they had not written anything of the same scope and technical sophistication which distinguished the writings associated with the Catholic ascetic tradition.

Bunny issued his response to Persons's jibe in the 1589 edition of his *Booke of Christian Exercise*. This was entitled *A Brieve Answer, unto Those Idle and Frivolous Quarrels of R.P.* He first cited Calvin's *Institutes* and the *Commonplaces* of Musculus., asking of Persons, "Are these no treatises of devotion, pietie, &c?" He mentioned scriptural commentaries, of which Protestants had produced many. Calvin's expositions on the Psalms and on Job were particularly worthy: "Can you tel us where to find among your writers, so many good lessons of devotion, pietie, &c?" Luther's commentary on Galatians, Edward Dering's lectures on Hebrews, Erasmus's *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, *The Sicke Mans Salve* by Thomas Becon, Bradford's *Meditations* and a work by Johannes Rivius, called *Of the Foolishnes of Men in Putting-off the Amendement of Their Lives from Daie to Daie*, were also put forth.⁵⁷

Many of the works to which Bunny referred in answering Persons have already been described in this study. As seen, these texts were all quite different from the Catholic treatises of which Persons boasted. None of the other works that Bunny named showed great similarity to the Catholic ascetic treatises, either.⁵⁸ The relatively advanced treatment of prayer and meditation which John Bradford gave in his *Godly Meditations* has already been touched upon, as have the intriguing parallels between Erasmus's *Enchiridion* and some ascetic spiritual manuals. Though Calvin urged meditation on the works of God and the saints' eternal inheritance in his *Institutes*, one finds a much simpler approach to ascetic exercises in his expositions of Job and the Psalms, to which Bunny referred.⁵⁹ The lengthy *Commonplaces* of Wolfgang Musculus had first been published in Basel, in 1550. These were theological essays arranged under a broad range of headings: "Creation", "Free Will", "Popishe Masse",

⁵⁷ See Edmund Bunny, *A Brieve Answer, Unto Those Idle and Frivolous Quarrels of R.P.* (London: 1589), sig. C3v-4v. Bunny cited four other texts that have been too difficult to trace, due mainly to the poor quality of the facsimile of his *Brieve Answer* consulted: a section of a work he called "The Centuries", presumably the historical "Magdeburg Centuries", called *De Moribus Christianorum*; the *Regula Vitæ* of humanist Nathan Chitraeus; another work by Rivius, called *De Consolandis* . . . [illegible] . . . *Tantibus*; and *De Morte & Vita Æternæ*, by an unnamed author.

⁵⁸ This should be qualified by the information in n. 57, above.

⁵⁹ See John Calvin, *Sermons of Maister John Calvin, upon the Booke of Job* (London: 1574) and *The Psalmes of David and Others. With M. John Calvins Commentaries* (London: 1571), both translated by Arthur Golding.

"Traditions", etc.⁶⁰ Their content, including Musculus's exposition on devotional activities like prayer, was very similar to that found in dogmatic treatises like Beza's *A Briefe and Piththie Summe of the Christian Faith* and Northbrooke's *Spiritus est Vicarius Christi in Terra*.⁶¹ Rivius was a Lutheran humanist, whose text, *Of the Foolishness of Men in Putting-off the Amendement of Their Lives from Daie to Daie*, was translated into English by Thomas Rogers, and published in 1582. This was a brief set of essays on the necessity of repentance, divided into two parts. Though his tract bore some resemblance to Persons's, Rivius did not discuss ascetic spiritual exercises in any detail.⁶²

It would be difficult to deny either that authors like Calvin, Luther and Bradford intended their works for devotional use, or that many Protestants were satisfied in using them as such.⁶³ As seen, many of the texts Bunny named were best- and steady sellers during the Elizabethan period. Given these observations, it might seem unfair to conclude, as some do,⁶⁴ that Bunny's response to Persons revealed a gaping deficiency within the Protestant devotional corpus. Nevertheless, Persons had been correct in that no Protestant had yet produced an original text that drew from the ascetic tradition of which he was an exponent. The writings that Protestants had published to that point possessed a kind of spiritual utility, but they lacked the organization and practicality which characterised the Catholic ascetic treatises. The work of Bunny, Rogers and Hake itself demonstrates that there were Protestants who recognized the unique appeal of these ascetic tracts, and the need for such books on the Protestant side.

Like these other editors, Bunny seems to have possessed an intriguing mixture of both conservative and reformist sympathies. He enjoyed the friendship of Edmund Grindal, who was an esteemed patron of moderate puritan causes before he fell under the reproach of the queen for his defence of the puritan-affiliated "prophesyings",

⁶⁰ Wolfgang Musculus, *Common Places of Christian Religion*, trans. John Man (London: 1563), 21 ("Creation"), 42 ("Free will"), 790 ("Popishe Masse"), 863 ("Traditions").

⁶¹ Cf. Musculus, *Common Places*, 1139-73; Theodore Beza, *A Briefe and Piththie Summe of the Christian Faith*, trans. Robert Fills (London: 1565) sig. F3r-6r; and John Northbrooke, *Spiritus Est Vicarius Christi in Terra* (London: 1571), sig. D2r-3v and U4v-X2r.

⁶² Robert Persons may have drawn on Rivius's work for his own *Resolution*, or both may have been inspired by another author. This query certainly merits investigation, but has not been pursued here.

⁶³ In the next century, John Bunyan would testify that he preferred Luther's Galatians commentary over all other books aside from the Bible, "as most fit for a wounded conscience"; see John Bunyan, *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners* (Glasgow: Porteous and Hislop, 1863), 50-51.

⁶⁴ See, e.g., Chan, "Puritan Meditative Tradition", 52.

held in many parishes during the 1570s.⁶⁵ Grindal recognized Bunny's talents in preaching, and must have considered these when he brought him north, to help speed reformation in the Catholic stronghold of York. Even later in life, Bunny remained dedicated to the pulpit, and gained some fame among the godly as an itinerant expositor in the country's market towns. Bunny's Calvinism has been seen in connection with his revision of Person's work, and was also demonstrated by his publication of a Latin edition of Calvin's *Institutes*, in 1576. Yet it would be wrong to characterise Bunny as a full-fledged puritan, as some have done.⁶⁶ Throughout his career he remained a faithful representative of the official church, and enjoyed a number of her benefices. Though he was not averse to criticize the Catholic Church in harsh terms, as seen in his exchanges with Persons, he was at least willing to grant that it was a true church, unlike William Perkins and those who shared his opinion.⁶⁷ Bunny's status, as an advocate of "rigorous religion" who campaigned under the auspices of the conservative establishment, is captured in an account of one contemporary observer, who remarked how he was known to roam, preaching, "over most parts of England like a new apostle", flanked by "two men in black liveries with horses".⁶⁸

III. Thomas Rogers: *A Methode unto Mortification* (1586)

In 1586, Rogers sent his second purged Catholic work to press: Diego de Estella's *The Contempte of the World, and the Vanitie Thereof*, which he entitled *A Methode unto Mortification*. Times had changed since the first publication of his own *Imitation*. On the one hand, the adaptation of Catholic spiritual texts by Protestants had become more commonplace. His own translation of the *Imitation* had been reprinted three times, and more notably, a total of seventeen editions of Edmund Bunny's *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise* had been printed in the two

⁶⁵ See Patrick Collinson, "Grindal, Edmund (1516x20–1583)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11644>> (31 July 2008); and idem, *Archbishop Grindal, 1519–1583: The Struggle for a Reformed Church* (London, Jonathan Cape, 1979).

⁶⁶ See, e.g., Houliston, introduction to Persons, *The Christian Directory*, xxxvii; and Keenan, "Jesuit Casuistry or Jesuit Spirituality?", 630.

⁶⁷ See Shiels, "Bunny, Edmund (1540–1618)", in *ODNB*.

⁶⁸ Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses: An Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops Who Have Had Their Education in the University of Oxford*, 4 vols., ed. Philip Bliss (London: Rivington, 1813–20), 2.221–22; cited by Shiels, "Bunny, Edmund (1540–1618)", in *ODNB*.

previous years. On the other hand, the new English Jesuit campaign and the discovery of regicide plots by Francis Throckmorton and William Parry had left many in England with an aversion to the Roman Church and its adherents, which would increase considerably during the years leading up to and following Spain's attack. Thus, while there was no lack of precedent for the kind of project Rogers now took in hand, he was still obliged to justify his recommendation of a Catholic author's work. Rogers defended his appropriation of Estella's text much as he had done with that of à Kempis, emphasizing the biblical nature of the work's theme and its trans-confessional appeal. He again insisted, now with considerable force, that he had removed or altered whatever was offensive in the original. The resulting product was a legitimate and potent source of edification, he assured readers.

By the time he dealt with Estella's text, Rogers had probably become somewhat settled in the living in Horringer, Suffolk, to which he had been instituted five years before. If the title page of his translation is correct, he was urged by "some of his godlie friends" to read and perhaps also revise and re-publish Estella's *The Contempe of the World, and the Vanitie Thereof*, at some point after it appeared, in 1584. Rogers voiced assurance that his patrons, "M[aster]. H. Blagge and T. Pooley," justices of the peace in Suffolk, would welcome his translation, in spite of its source.⁶⁹ Indeed, he hoped that all "the godlie wise, as manie of them already have, wil approve the same by their good acceptation, the matter being sounde, and most necessarie to be reade and regarded of al sortes of men in these loose daies of the worlde". Catholics and Protestants could agree, Rogers noted, "namelie that the worlde, and the vanities thereof are to bee contemned". At the same time, he anticipated that some would reject it on account of its Catholic author, "because the disposition of manie is so perverse & crooked, that oftentimes even good thinges are contemned, because the doers of them are not liked".⁷⁰ Rogers was obviously free of such scruples, reserving these harsh terms for those who clung to them. Any work that promoted spiritual growth—"anie sounde perswasions unto godliness"—could and should be appropriated for the good of the church, he believed. It is highly probable that Rogers

⁶⁹ Diego de Estella, *A Methode Unto Mortification: Called Heretofore, the Contempe of the World, and the Vanitie Thereof*, ed. Thomas Rogers (London: 1586), sig. A3r. *ODNB* contains no reference to either of these figures, although Sir George Blage (1512–1551) of Kent, a friend of Henry VIII who supported Protestant causes later in life, did have a son called Henry; see Alec Ryrie, "Blage, Sir George (c.1512–1551)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/68087>> (31 July 2008).

⁷⁰ Estella/T. Rogers, *Methode* (1586), sig. A4r.

wrote these remarks with Bunny's very popular work in mind, for this same phrase had been used by Bunny, who had noted of Persons's treatise, "the perswasion that it hath to godlines of life", at the beginning of his own version.⁷¹

Rogers defended the editorial liberties he had exercised with Estella's text by likening his work to that of bees and builders. The former chose only certain flowers from which to gather material for honey and wax; carpenters were just as selective in the wood they used, "and shall not the spiritual builders have the same for the ædifieng of the house of GOD?" Had not both Augustine and Tertullian encouraged Christians living in their day to cull wisdom from the philosophers, albeit with care? "That which the Fathers have thought of the Philosophers and Poetes we maie judge of al other aliens from the Church and heretikes, and therefore wee doe them no wrong, when wee take but the trueth, which is our owne, and leave them the errors, wherein wee have none interest."⁷²

Given the amount of attention Rogers gave to the faults he removed from Estella's treatise, one might assume there were more offensive statements in it than in the original *Imitation of Christ*. It is also possible that Rogers was now more eager to prove his earnestness in revision than he had been six years before. He furnished readers with three tables at the end of his translation, each containing different types of errors: "The filth from which this booke is now clensed." "My advise", he wrote gravely, "is, that you come not unto the viewing therof with an emptie stomach, lest the stinch either infect, or anoie thee, which is not used to such contagious savors."⁷³ Here he listed statements from the text that contradicted Protestant belief, and passages of Scripture that had been misinterpreted or misquoted, filling over thirty pages in all.

In spite of its likeness to à Kempis's classic text, *A Methode unto Mortification* saw only one printing. Perhaps all that occurred over the two years that followed (1587 and 1588) deterred readers' interest in a work by a contemporary Franciscan. Rogers may have been aware of this sentiment—or moved by it himself—and refrained from attempting a second distribution. It is difficult to know for certain.

In late 1589, three years after *A Methode unto Mortification* appeared, Rogers entered into conflict with several members of a pastoral assembly in Suffolk of which

⁷¹ Persons/Bunny, *Resolution* (1584), sig. 2r.

⁷² Estella/T. Rogers, *Methode* (1586), sig. A5r.

⁷³ Estella/T. Rogers, *Methode* (1586), sig. Y11r.

he was a part. This event helps to clarify the similarities and differences between Rogers's views and those of the local puritan ministers with whom he clashed. From 1583 (or '84) until 1589, Rogers was an active attendant of the "combination lecture" that met on Mondays in Bury St Edmunds, two miles from his home in Horringer. Several clergy from the surrounding area gathered to exposit set texts in turn, to discuss different aspects of the passage, and to confer about general parochial concerns. Members of the public occasionally attended the sermons that were delivered. Exercises like this, though usually arranged with the bishop's knowledge, were often used by puritan ministers as means of strengthening and maintaining their connections with the wider godly network. In a few cases they were appropriated as bona fide presbyterian assemblies, in secret defiance of church authorities. Figures like John Knewstub, Nicholas Bownd, Walter Allen and Miles Mosse, all soundly identified as members of the Elizabethan puritan movement,⁷⁴ were fellow attendants at the Bury lectures with Rogers.

It appears that for a time, Rogers sympathised with his Bury St Edmunds companions, as evidenced by comments he made in the preface to his defence of the Thirty-Nine Articles, published in 1585 as *The English Creed*. Here Rogers urged clemency for his nonconformist contemporaries, assuring John Whitgift and his assistants that they all upheld the royal supremacy and the Prayer Book. All would subscribe if "that which is offensive, reformed and that which is crooked, made streight; and that which is doubtfull, made evident and plaine". "For we . . . all of us," Rogers wrote, meaning both conformists and nonconformists,

acknowledge the good things that we do enjoie and that the Church would florish much better, if that good lawes already made were faithfullie put in execution, and the true discipline of Christ so greatlie and so long wished were firmlie established, who doth not acknowledge? A thing evident enough these manie yeeres, but never so apparent as by this great, and late trial of ministers.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ See Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 126-27 (Knewstub), 377 (Bownd), 321 (Allen), 436 (Mosse); and see the biographical register in Patrick Collinson, John Craig and Brett Usher, eds., *Conferences and Combination Lectures in the Elizabethan Church: Dedham and Bury St Edmunds, 1582-1590*, Church of England Record Society, vol. 10 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), 184 (Allen), 188-89 (Bownd), 220-23 (Knewstub), and 233-34 (Mosse).

⁷⁵ Thomas Rogers, *The English Creede* (London: 1585), sig. 3v.

What measure of concord Rogers may have shared with the other attendees of the Monday exercise was destroyed, however, during the winter of 1589–1590.⁷⁶ Its participants were then working their way through the Book of Romans, and by December they had arrived at the twelfth chapter. Verses six, seven and eight pertained to clerical roles, and had been expounded as grounds for presbyterianism in a recently-published anonymous text, called *A Fruitfull Sermon* (1584), believed by many to have come from the pen of presbyterian advocate and master of newly-established Emmanuel College, Cambridge, Laurence Chaderton.⁷⁷ For this reason, the unofficial leaders of the exercise, John Knewstub, Walter Allen and others, decided it would be best if they handled this passage themselves. The normal lecture schedule was altered accordingly. In the course of hearing four sermons on the passage by these men, Rogers raised objections. Knewstub chided Rogers in response. As fortune would have it, Rogers was next on the rota, and all expected him to continue with verse nine, “Let love be without dissension”, etc., when they gathered again. Instead, to their dismay, he produced a copy of Chaderton’s text, and proceeded to criticize its contents and its author, whose identity he claimed not to know. He was again reprimanded by members of the exercise, and ceased attending the meetings thereafter. The leaders of the conference then drew up a new rota, from which Rogers’s name was cleverly omitted, and submitted it to Bishop Edmund Scambler. From then on, Rogers was manifestly hostile to those he would label “puritans”, “disciplinarians”, “our home faction”, and “schismaticall brethren”.⁷⁸

One of the developments that followed Rogers’s estrangement from the Bury St Edmunds exercise is worth special note, because it seems to reveal a peculiar

⁷⁶ The documents from which most of the information on this conflict has been sourced can be found under Thomas Rogers, “Reply to Accusations Made by Puritan Ministers: Manuscript, 1590–1675”, Codex MS. 109, fol. 11v, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library, Chicago; this manuscript has been published recently in Collinson, Craig and Usher, eds., *Conferences and Combination Lectures*, 151–80.

I have given little attention to the sources of Rogers’s conservatism here. John Craig has discussed his chaplaincy to both Richard Bancroft and Christopher Hatton, and his education at Oxford—all factors which seem to have been relevant to the formation of his conformist position. It is even possible that Rogers’s provocative protest was prompted by John Whitgift, as a response to the Marprelate Tracts, which had appeared in 1589. See John S. Craig, “The ‘Cambridge Boies’: Thomas Rogers and the ‘Brethren’ in Bury St Edmunds”, in *Belief and Practice in Reformation England: A Tribute to Patrick Collinson from His Students*, ed. Susan Wabuda and Caroline Littenberger (Brookfield: Ashgate, 1998). Craig’s essay has been consulted for much of the account presented here. See also John S. Craig, “Thomas Rogers (c.1553–1616)” in *ODNB*.

⁷⁷ See Patrick Collinson, “Chaderton, Laurence (1536?–1640)”, in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5010>> (31 July 2008).

⁷⁸ Craig, “Cambridge Boies”, 159 ff.

difference between his views on the use of print and those of its puritan leadership. In response to being prohibited from preaching at the exercise, Rogers had written a letter of complaint to the bishop. Not long after that, ten of the Bury ministers wrote their own letter to Scambler, defending their actions, and insisting they had “lovinglie and gentlie admonished” Rogers after his bellicose address.⁷⁹ Upon seeing their letter, Rogers was compelled to draw up yet another address to the bishop, in which he laid special blame for his unfair treatment by the Bury group on one of its members: Miles Mosse, preacher of the parish of St James.⁸⁰ Though Mosse had not signed the letter to Scambler, Rogers believed he had been its author, because he had shown particular antagonism in response to Rogers’s critique of the *Fruitfull Sermon*: “Neither lovinglie nor gentlie did yee admonish him. M. Mosses grinning at him in moste disdainful manner before moste of you, and objecting so often unto him the Cambridg boies, maie tell you howe lovinglie and gentlie he was admonished.”⁸¹

In 1590 both Rogers and Mosse published new works: Rogers, his own refutation of Chaderton’s text; Mosse, a fairly popular catechism by John More and Edward Dering, which had been printed in the 1570s. In the preface to the latter, Mosse complained that “men will speak before they have learned”, and that “manie ministers of the word write much but preach little”. Rogers believed himself to be the referent of these comments, and took pen in hand once more, to refute what he understood to be Mosse’s allegations regarding his own use of the press. In his remarks, Mosse had elevated preaching above writing as a means of shepherding the church. Rogers defended the printed word, and accused ministers who held views like those of Mosse of pastoral negligence:

And our Divines have a great account before God to make (so manie parishes remaining without preaching Pastors, and so many adversaries on all sides arising to the great annoying of the whole Church in every corner) that yet sit still beholding the house of God miserablie wasting into ashes, partly by the flames of inward contentions, partly by barbarous ignorance, and will not set

⁷⁹ Thomas Rogers, “Reply to Accusations Made by Puritan Ministers: Manuscript, 1590–1675”, Codex Ms. 109, fol. 11v, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library, Chicago; cited in Craig, “Cambridge Boies”, 162.

⁸⁰ See John Craig, “Mosse, Miles (1558–1615)”, in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19406>> (31 July 2008).

⁸¹ T. Rogers, “Reply to Accusations”, fol. 20r; cited in Craig, “Cambridge Boies”, 164.

their handes to their bookes, and by their laboured writings quench the same, and bring them out of danger that be readie to perish.⁸²

Neglect of spiritual writing was especially serious, Rogers claimed, given the acute spiritual needs of the church. He disagreed with Mosse's claim that there was already a sufficient number who took advantage of the press. "I take it all Cambridge at this howre hath not foure, nor all Oxford five, nor all London five, nor all Suffolke . . . so many approved writers, & some Countries, shires, and Dioceses both in Ireland, Wales and England too, none at all", he countered, "and of these, some not these two, some not these three yeares and upward have committed anie thing unto the presse: and yet shall it publiquely in print, and as a reproach, a lasting reproach of our Ministerie, be delivered, that the writers, the Ecclesiasticall Ministers that write, be manie?"⁸³

Rogers's quarrel with the nonconformists at Bury St Edmunds, and the ensuing clash with Mosse, exposed underlying differences between them which had remained hidden before then. Yet, one cannot overlook his active association with that body, which lasted for at least half a decade. The evidence suggests that Rogers shared with his puritan colleagues a keen desire for spiritual reform in the church, though he did not believe fundamental structural change was needed, as many of them surely did. Like them, he affirmed the importance of preaching for building up the church, but he also believed writing could serve the same purpose. Historians have found evidence from other sources suggesting that the use of print was adopted with hesitancy by some during the century following its introduction, and this would seem to be confirmed in the case of Miles Mosse.⁸⁴ In the preface to a 1606 work, puritans John Dod and Robert Cleaver admitted that they were "now willing to make some worke for the Presse because we have no employment in the pulpit".⁸⁵ Whether Mosse's views were typical of puritan clergy or not, it is clear that he and many of them adopted a more positive stance towards the medium in later years. Mosse

⁸² Thomas Rogers, *Miles Christianus or a Just Apologie of All Necessarie Writings and Writers* (London: 1590), 17-18.

⁸³ T. Rogers, *Miles Christianus*, 17.

⁸⁴ See above, pp. 73-74.

⁸⁵ John Dod and Robert Cleaver, *A Plaine and Familiar Exposition of the Ninth and Tenth Chapters of the Proverbs of Solomon* (London, 1606), sig. A3r; cited in Alexandra Walsham, "Preaching Without Speaking: Script, Print and Religious Dissent", in *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700*, ed. Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham, (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 217.

himself would publish a best-seller in the next century.⁸⁶ Finally, it would seem that in Rogers's conservative perception, the non-Calvinist and even non-Protestant origin of some writings was relatively insignificant—*adiaphora*, to borrow the language of another Elizabethan controversy. One suspects that the other participants of the Bury St Edmunds exercise did not share his openness to such works.

Rogers, Bunny and Hake defy simplistic historical categorization. They were drawn to many of the same causes that the godly esteemed, but their anti-Catholic opinions, however configured, did not prohibit them from appropriating Catholic literature for the good of a readership who were alleged to be Protestants. Most non-conformists, on the other hand, probably disdained these writings in the same way they disdained the cap and surplice, perceiving them as tainted on account of their source, despite any usefulness or benefit they might otherwise possess.

IV. Late Elizabethan Republication Efforts

Five new legal Catholic translations appeared during the last decade of the reign of Elizabeth I, alongside repeated editions of Rogers's *Imitation of Christ* and Bunny's *First Book of the Christian Exercise, Appertaining to Resolution*. Four individuals are assumed to be responsible for these works. Two of these made an effort to remain anonymous. From a reading of the prefaces to these texts, and of some external evidence, one is led to believe that all four editors were connected to a circle of religiously conservative, and in some cases, openly Catholic figures, many of whom were involved in courtly life or the theatre. The changes they made to the texts in question were fairly predictable, and generally, more superficial than the alterations made by the writers discussed above. In contrast to Rogers and Bunny, they showed very little awareness of or sensitivity to the controversial nature of their work. For these reasons, it seems likely that they published for a like-minded conservative or even Catholic readership, and may be perceived as occupying a "second phase" of Elizabethan bowdlerisation.

⁸⁶ Mosse is believed to be the editor of *A Garden of Spirtuall Flowers* (London: 1609), thirty-two editions of which were printed; Craig, "Mosse, Miles (1558–1615)", in *ODNB*. On the "pietist turn" which was characterised by a significant increase in the number of puritan devotional tracts published, see below, pp. 159–64.

Following citations in the *Short-Title Catalogue*, some scholars have attributed the editing of Loarte's *The Exercise of a Christian Life* and Granada's *Of Prayer, and Meditation* to one "M. Banister", the supposed son of the surgeon and writer, John Banister (1532/3–1599?).⁸⁷ The revised version of Loarte's *Exercise* was only printed once, in 1594. No editor or translator was named on its title page, and no signature followed its dedication to John Banister, addressed as the editor's "loving kinde Father". Its opening lines declare: "Remembering how many kind favours, I have from time to time received at your handes (loving friend & father) yet on my part no moitie of answereable courtesie returned, whereby you might either finde regard of your gentlenesse, or note my thankefull mind."⁸⁸ The same anonymity enshrouds the five editions of Granada's *Of Prayer, and Meditation* that were printed between 1592 and 1602. Its editor divided up the material in the original text, grouping certain elements together to form a separate work, entitled *An Excellent Treatise of Consideration and Prayer*. This was dedicated to "the worshipfull and his ever approved fatherly good friend, Maister John Banister Chirurgion". "Father, receive at your sons hand this excellent treatise," he wrote, "the true testimonie of my unfained affection: and some dutifull remembrance forso many favours I have received from you."⁸⁹ On this evidence, the individual responsible is taken to be the actual son of John Banister. However, the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* indicates that Banister only fathered one child, a daughter.⁹⁰ In light of this fact, and the ambiguity of the language used in these dedications, it seems at least possible that the writer who produced these was an appreciative recipient of Banister's patronage, rather than his literal child.

Three of the "Banister's" editions of Granada's *Of Prayer, and Meditation* were dedicated to other individuals: Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, and his wife (1592); civil lawyer Julius Caesar (1596); and Sir William Dethick, herald and antiquary (1599). Strange was a friend to the queen and a known patron of the arts, who sponsored an acting troupe known as "Strange's Men", before his untimely death in 1593. In 1592, one year before this, his own father had died, and he had inherited

⁸⁷ Pollard and others, *Short-Title Catalogue*, 2:122.

⁸⁸ Gaspar Loarte, *The Exercise of a Christian Life*, [trans. M. Banister?] (London: 1594), sig. A2r.

⁸⁹ Luis de Granada, *An Excellent Treatise of Consideration and Prayer*, [trans. M. Banister?] (London: 1601), sig. Aa2r.

⁹⁰ Andrew Griffin, "Banister, John (1532/3–1599?)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1280>> (29 Aug 2007).

the title Earl of Derby. Immediately following his father's death, Stanley was approached by a group of Catholic plotters who urged him to consider seizing the throne, since he possessed familial ties to Henry VIII. Stanley refused and subsequently exposed the conspirators, but the fact that he was believed to be a potential accomplice at least raises questions about his religious status.⁹¹

The identity of the printers and publishers behind the works of "M. Banister" seems to strengthen the possibility of a connection to the theatre and to Catholic circles, though it would be unwise to draw strong implications from the modest evidence available. John Charlewood, the supposed publisher of the 1592 edition of Granada's *Of Prayer, and Meditation*, "may have had Catholic connections", according to H. R. Tedder and Robert Faber.⁹² In 1581 and 1583, he depicted himself as "servant or printer 'to the right honourable Earl of Arundel'", and a 1587 Martin Marprelate tract confirmed his status as such. When Charlewood died in 1593, his widow married James Roberts, who also took over his printing business, inheriting his license to print playbills and works of poetry. Roberts printed the 1602 edition of "Banister's" Granada text. And Peter Short, who printed the 1599 edition, as well as "Banister's" version of Loarte's *Exercise*, was also a printer of plays and poetry, like Roberts.⁹³

The changes that "M. Banister" made to the texts of Loarte and Granada indicate that he may have been a committed Protestant—or at least, someone who understood keenly what Protestant readers would approve or disapprove. Where the original English translation of Loarte's exercise, by Catholic Stephen Brinkley, had instructed readers to prepare "to go to Masse, and to receave the blessed Sacrament" by reading "some godly booke a while", "Banister's" edition told them to prepare "to go to Church to praie, and to heare the worde of God" by reading "some parte of

⁹¹ See David Kathman, "Stanley, Ferdinando, fifth earl of Derby (1559?–1594)", in *ODNB* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26269> (31 July 2008); Alain Wijffels, "Caesar, Sir Julius (bap. 1558, d. 1636)", in *ODNB* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4328> (31 July 2008); and Anthony R. J. S. Adolph, "Dethick, Sir William (1543–1612)", in *ODNB* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7558> (31 July 2008). A perusal of the records on Caesar and Dethick yielded no pertinent information for this analysis.

⁹² H. R. Tedder and Robert Faber, "Charlewood, John (d. 1593)", in *ODNB* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5159> (29 August 2007).

⁹³ It is worth noting that Thomas Rogers also used the services of Peter Short between 1591 and 1602. In fact, his 1598 edition of à Kempis's *Soliloquium Animae* was printed by Short, for William Leake. "Banister's" edition of Loarte was printed just four years earlier by Short, also for Leake. Thus, there is some chance that Rogers himself was the patron of John Banister the surgeon, and the editor of these works by Loarte and Granada. More research will be required to determine the validity of this notion.

Scripture".⁹⁴ "Banister" also replaced Loarte's instructions on making a general confession with a more general call to contrition and repentance, and he removed the chapters in Loarte's original text on auricular confession and "spiritual receaving".⁹⁵ Some of his changes were inexplicable, such as his reversal of the meditation schedule prescribed in Granada's *Of Prayer, and Meditation*. In the translation by Catholic Richard Hopkins, meditation on Christ's Passion was arranged on mornings, while theological, self-referential topics were to be mused upon in the evening. In his edition, "Banister" placed the Passion meditations in the evening, and the theological meditations on mornings.⁹⁶ Whatever his status or his motives, "Banister" did praise both Loarte and Granada in the dedications affixed to their works. Unlike the Protestant editors who came before, he provided no apology for their Catholicism, and spoke only indirectly about changes made to their original texts. Thus he introduced *The Exercise of a Christian Life*, written

by a certayne Jesuit Frier whoe was named Gasper Loarte, and afterwarde more at large wrought uppon, and handled in more plentiful discourse, by Robert Persons Englishman, yet a Jesuite likewise, living beyond the Seas, which he termed *A Christian exercise, appertaining to Resolution*, two partes whereof are extant in English, and many have reaped Christian profit from them, I doe not doubt. . . . Divers learned men have had the perusing of it, and have left no matter in it to urg thy dislike.⁹⁷

And to Ferdinando Stanley, he wrote of Granada's *Of Prayer, and Meditation*: "How nobly it hath beene countenanced in the impressions of Latine, Spanish, Italian and French, the editions in all those Languages remained to witnes: not then at last in English it receives no iote of disadvantage, beeing stamped in the fore-head with your most noble Names".⁹⁸ The editor behind these works may have been a Catholic who sought to promote the piety of his own religion, who shrewdly altered them to prevent Protestant censure; or a Protestant who believed these texts would edify his co-

⁹⁴ Cf. Loarte/Brinkley, *Exercise* (1579), sig. B5r, with Loarte/[Banister], *Exercise* (1594), sig. D1r.

⁹⁵ Cf. Loarte/Brinkley, *Exercise* (1579), sig. A1r-4v, with Loarte/[Banister], *Exercise* (1594), sig. B1r-C1r.; chapters removed from "Banister's edition: Loarte/Brinkley, *Exercise* (1579), sig. K4v-M8r.

⁹⁶ Cf. Granada/Hopkins, *Of Prayer, and Meditation* (1582), 98-578 with Luis de Granada, *Of Prayer and Meditation. Contayning Foure-Teene Meditations, for the Seaven Sayes of the Weeke*, [trans. M. Banister?] (London: 1592), 1-549.

⁹⁷ Loarte/[Banister], *Exercise* (1594), sig. A3r-v.

⁹⁸ Granada/[Banister], *Of Prayer and Meditation* (1592), sig. 4r.

religionists, if altered sufficiently. Either way, the choice of anonymity seems significant. None of the three writers in the first phase of Elizabethan republication had believed such a measure to be necessary. One is led to believe that by the 1590s the common mood towards such works may have changed considerably.

Information is even more scant regarding “M. K.”, another editor of the late Elizabethan period. Three editions of a text attributed to Granada, called *The Conversion of a Sinner: Faithfully translated out of Italian, by M. K.*, are attested. One was published in 1598, another appeared in 1599, and a third, now lacking its title page, may have been printed earlier, in 1580.⁹⁹ *The Conversion of a Sinner* appears to be merely a portion of Granada’s *Memoriall of a Christian Life*, which someone—perhaps “M. K.”—edited and republished as an independent text.¹⁰⁰ In place of a dedication, *The Conversion of a Sinner* began with the following message:

I doo heere present unto thy favourable view (most curteous and gentle Reader) this Pamphlet, which wanting a particular Patron, commeth (as it were) a begging unto thee, for no lesse then thy whole selfe, and that chiefly for thine owne good. The way to protect it, is to direct thy life by it, & to suffer it to possess thee, assoone as thou hast possesst it: which if thou be so happie to accomplish, it will teach thee to win Love by feare: Life by death: yea, everlasting happinesse, by the transitorie troubles of this wretched world. And to give it just praise, in a word, it is a worke of the learned and spirituall *Granado*, aptly translated by a vertuous Gentleman, into our English.¹⁰¹

As in the case of the works of “M. Banister”, nothing was mentioned about changes made to the original work, nor was anything said to defend its republication. The 1598 edition was printed by Thomas Creed, who was known for issuing “works of dramatic authors such as Shakespeare, Dekker, Chapman, and Marston, as well as other literary figures such as Greene, Lodge, and Breton”.¹⁰² Controversial puritan sympathizer Robert Waldegrave printed the 1599 edition, from Edinburgh.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ See Pollard and others, *Short-Title Catalogue*, 2:121.

¹⁰⁰ See n. 26 on pp. 55-56; the material in Granada/“M. K.”, *Conversion of a Sinner* (1598), is very similar to that in Granada, *Memoriall* (1599), 55-204. *The Conversion of a Sinner* is not listed among Granada’s other works in the *Obras del V.P.M. Fray Luis de Granada*, published in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* series.

¹⁰¹ Granada/“M. K.”, *Conversion of a Sinner* (1598), sig. A2r.

¹⁰² David L. Gants, “Creede, Thomas (b. in or before 1554, d. 1616)”, in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6666>> (1 October 2007).

¹⁰³ Waldegrave printed the first “Marprelate Tracts”, and was resented by authorities in England, even after he relocated in Scotland, in 1590; see A. J. Mann, “Waldegrave, Robert (c.1554–1603/4)”, in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28441>> (31 July 2008).

The career of Thomas Lodge holds some aspects which are intriguing to consider alongside the work of these two unknown editors. In 1601, Lodge produced a book entitled *The Flowers of Lodowicke of Granado*, which was printed by James Roberts. As its subtitle revealed, this was simply another edition of Granada's *The Conversion of a Sinner*, released two years earlier by "M. K." Lodge's edition featured the same curious message in lieu of a dedication. Indeed, it is possible that Lodge was the real agent behind the works of either "M. K." or "M. Banister" or both, or at least an acquaintance to these figures.¹⁰⁴ Lodge wrote plays and poetry for several years. During the first decade of the seventeenth century, he established a respected medical practice, and in 1611, the Privy Council granted him protection from prosecution for recusancy. According to Alexandra Halasz, his allegiance to

¹⁰⁴ Some features Lodge's life bring plausibility to such a notion. The son of Sir Thomas Lodge, lord mayor of London, and his second wife, Anne, Thomas the younger received his BA from Trinity College, Oxford, in 1577. He was a resident at Lincoln's Inn for a time, but never pursued the legal profession. Both of these institutions were known strongholds of Catholicism. Some scholars suspect he was the same "Lodge" listed among a group of recusants living in Paris in 1580, and the same Thomas Lodge, gentleman, who was called before the Privy Council to answer "certain matters", and who was imprisoned at the King's Bench in late 1581. In the early part of that year Lodge had applied for the MA at Oxford, and had been accepted; but by the year's end, he was denied matriculation. It is possible the discovery of his recusancy was the reason for this refusal. If Lodge were on the Continent around 1580, he may have come into contact with a Spanish or Italian version of Granada's *The Conversion of a Sinner* there, and produced the degraded edition that is extant, it is believed, from that year. Lodge's first known printed work was registered in 1579.

The overlap of printers used by Lodge and the two unknown editors comprises another fragment of circumstantial evidence. *A Looking Glass for London and England*, one of Lodge's plays, was printed in 1594 by Thomas Creed, who published three other works by Lodge between that year and 1603. "M. K.'s" *The Conversion of a Sinner* was published in 1598 by Creed, the same year he printed a second edition of Lodge's *A Looking Glass*. From 1593 until 1604, three of Lodge's writings were printed by James Roberts, who had taken over John Charlewood's business. Charlewood printed "Banister's" 1592 edition of Granada's *Of Prayer, and Meditation*, and Roberts printed two later versions of the same work, in 1596 and 1602. Finally, Lodge and "Banister" both employed the press of Peter Short twice, between 1593 and 1602. Of course, these observations are duly qualified by noting that each of these three figures used other printers, as well: "Banister" employed John Harison in 1601; "M. K.'s" book was printed at an unknown press in 1580, and at Waldegrave's in 1599; and Lodge used nine other printers, who never took anything by "Banister" or "M. K." in hand.

Some other intriguing points deserve mention, finally. In 1591 and 1592, Lodge's *A Looking Glass* was performed by Lord Strange's Men, the group underwritten by Ferdinando Stanley, to whom "M. Banister" dedicated his 1592 work. In his childhood, Lodge had received considerable support from Strange's father, Henry, earl of Derby. The dedication of two texts to John Banister is also intriguing, considering Lodge's decision to study medicine in 1597. As Alexandra Halasz explains, "Lodge's Catholicism later in life is undisputed", but "after 1611 it also ceased to matter in significant practical ways, for 'Thomas Lodge, Dr. of Physike' was protected from prosecution for recusancy by order of the privy council"; see "Lodge, Thomas (1558–1625)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16923>> (16 Aug 2007). Up until 1596, when he published *Prosopopeia: The Teares of the Holy, Blessed, and Sanctified Marie, the Mother of God*, Lodge had not affixed his name to any work with overt Catholic themes. *The Flowers of Lodowicke of Granado* did not appear until 1601. Thus, "M. K." may have represented a pseudonym, or even the initials of an acquaintance that he used, in order to procure needed funds (and promote Catholic piety) without attracting unwanted suspicion, during the early, insecure years of his career. A more thorough research effort will be needed to resolve or repudiate fully, if possible, this theory.

Catholicism in later life is undisputed, though scholars have disagreed about the beliefs he held in his youth.¹⁰⁵

Like Thomas Lodge, Francis Meres was acquainted with the world of the theatre. He was also a student of classical sources, and a religious conservative.¹⁰⁶ After gaining degrees from both Cambridge and Oxford, Meres sought work with his relative, Lawrence Meres, who was a member of the queen's council of the north. After failing to obtain the post, he moved to London and began a brief writing career. In 1598 he published a total of four texts. One of these was *Palladis Tamia*, which has interested scholars of later centuries because it discusses the careers of Meres's literary contemporaries, including Shakespeare, Thomas Nashe and Christopher Marlowe. The other three works Meres published that year were translations of Granada's treatises: *The Synners Guyde*, *Granados Devotion*, and *Granados Spirituall and Heavenlie Exercises*. Meres embarked on a religious life in the following year, 1599, and was ordained deacon and then priest, in Colchester, Essex. He lived the last forty-five years of his life in Wing, Rutland, serving as its rector and master of its grammar school.

Meres spoke very highly of Granada's wisdom and skill in religious instruction, in the dedications that preceded his three translations. Writing to William Sammes of the Middle Temple, he called *Granados Devotion* a "learned and religious booke of Devotion, written by that rare and matchless Divine F: Ludovicus Granatensis". He also revealed his rather low opinion of English religious writing in the course of his commentary:

Rare call him; because as Jacob (that true patterne of simplicity and paynefull labour) . . . was the first that made a vowe unto the Lord, vowing was then so rare: so this Author . . . is the first that writ a particular Tractate of Devotion. Matchlesse I call him, for as Jacob was the first that vowed, . . . so I do not thinke, that we in this dearth of Devotion, and famine of Devout men, shall have many imitaters of him in the lyke Argument.¹⁰⁷

Similarly, in the dedication to *Granados Spirituall and Heavenlie Exercises*, he

¹⁰⁵ Halasz, "Lodge, Thomas (1558–1625)", in *ODNB*.

¹⁰⁶ See David Kathman, "Meres, Francis (1565/6–1647)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18581>> (29 Aug 2007).

¹⁰⁷ Granada/Meres, *Granados Devotion* (1598), sig. A4r-v.

portrayed Granada as “another Cicero” and “a second Paul”.¹⁰⁸

At the same time, Meres admitted that he did not subscribe to all of the Dominican’s teachings. “I discovered certain corruptions,” he wrote in the dedication for *The Sinners Guyde*, “which as dangerous Rockes threatned shipwracke, to them that sailed unto him [Granada].” But the discovery of these errors need not thwart the reader, he insisted, “remembring that all wrytings (the sacred Scriptures excepted, which are absolutely pure and perfect) have a relish of theyr earthly and corruptible Authours”.¹⁰⁹ In this way, Meres employed a line of reasoning that was not unlike that of Rogers and Bunny, by insisting that a small amount of offensive material need not spoil an otherwise valuable and helpful work.

The religious conservatism of these later editors becomes apparent when their lives and careers are juxtaposed with those of Hake, Rogers and Bunny. But there are also aspects of their publications which seem to betray a different attitude towards the Catholic treatises they took in hand. Whereas the former, and especially Rogers and Bunny, took meticulous care to purge and “improve” the texts of à Kempis, Estella and Persons, conforming each sentence to the precepts of Protestant dogma and adorning the leaves of their editions with Scripture citations, the figures in this latter group seem to have been more tolerant of material in these works which some may have found intolerably traditional. This is displayed, for instance, in the anonymously edited *Of Prayer and Meditation*, in which a passage lauding the mother of Christ, in language reminiscent of Roman Catholic worship, was allowed to stand unchanged. After musing on the prospect of enjoying the fellowship of saints in heaven such as the apostles Peter and Paul, readers were directed to

Ascend yet up higher . . . and see another singuler glorie that dooth wonderfully rejoyce all that supream Courte, & maketh the citie of God (as it were) drunke with mervailous delight. Lyft up thyne eyes, and see that most blessed Virgin Marie, that freely beloved and full of all grace & beauty. Consider what a great joy it shalbe, to behold thys Virgin Mother, thys blessed among women.¹¹⁰

Similarly, *The Conversion of a Sinner*, translated by “M. K.”, contained an exhortation to consider the rewards allotted in glory to the obedient, in terms that

¹⁰⁸ Granada/Meres, *Granados Spirituall and Heavenlie Exercises* (1598), sig. A4v.

¹⁰⁹ Granada/Meres, *Sinners Guyde* (1598), sig. A2v.

¹¹⁰ Granada/[Banister], *Of Prayer and Meditation* (1596), 321.

would have roused the correcting pen of a Protestant like Edmund Bunny. “Those which have loved God, and live according to his will”, Granada insisted, “shall be rewarded in Paradise, which is the glory and merit that good men do respect”. He then encouraged readers to call to mind the time when

those blessed spirits shall take thee, and set thee before the divine consistorie of God, publishing thy deserts, and reciting orderly thy almes, thy prayers, thy fasting, the integrity of thy life, thy sustaining of wrong, thy patience in affliction, and temperance in delights, with all thy other vertues and good deeds whatsoever.¹¹¹

By contrast, Bunny had been careful to modify Persons’s *Resolution*—a work not unlike *The Conversion of a Sinner* in its thrust—to ensure that readers were not led to believe their service to God was actually a means “to gayne everlastinge glorye in the life to come”, as Persons had asserted.¹¹²

Conclusion

Thus, through an examination of their vocations, their pastimes, their connections and the approach they took in framing and re-presenting these Catholic treatises to the English public, these four later figures—“Banister”, “M. K.”, Meres and Lodge—may be distinguished from Hake, Rogers and Bunny, who republished Catholic ascetic literature in preceding decades. Theories based on the limited evidence offered here can only be advanced with caution, but one may speculate that the publication of purged Catholic works was perceived more tolerably by avid Protestants during the first half of the Elizabethan period, before their fears over the plans of Spain and other Catholic powers abroad and at home were realised. The translation and reprinting of Catholic works by moderately reform-minded Protestants like Hake, Rogers and Bunny would seem to confirm that the “rigorous religion” prescribed in these writings, taken at face value, could and did appeal to readers of their opinion, notwithstanding their Catholic origin. But it also appears that events

¹¹¹ Granada/“M. K.”, *Conversion of a Sinner* (1598), sig. B8v, C4v.

¹¹² Persons, *Resolution* (1582), 25; cf. Persons/Bunny, *Resolution* (1584), 18; see pp. 126-28 above.

leading up to and including Spain's attack helped to render the reading (and publishing) of works with Catholic associations less acceptable for those who favoured the greater reformation of the English church. Even if Protestant writers themselves recognized that contemporary political events bore little actual relevance to the devotional worth of the writings they wished to republish, they also knew that many book buyers would not make such a distinction, and that they would be tempted to shun these writings because of their origin, during and after the conflicts of the 1580s. This would seem to explain why, after 1588, bowdlerisation was practised only by conservatives, crypto-Catholics, and those who could preserve their anonymity; by the 1590s the practice had become taboo for more staunch Protestants.

While it has been argued here that Hake, Rogers and Bunny were probably more reform-minded than the editors who reprinted Catholic literature later in the period, it has also been suggested that they were not situated as far to the left as their puritan contemporaries in the English church. Adopting Bozeman's conception of puritanism as a form of dissent driven by moralism, pietism and primitivism,¹¹³ one might say that figures like Hake, Rogers and Bunny shared with their puritan colleagues a penchant for pietistic religious practices, and even some of the moralism associated with their campaigns; but they did not share the puritan wish to streamline the national church in accordance with some ideal of primordial "biblical" purity. In the view of the puritan, this restoration of primitive Christianity required the eradication of "poperie",¹¹⁴ and it would have been hypocritical for anyone of that persuasion to republish, and thereby commend, a work of Catholic origin. If puritan writers did admire any of the teaching offered in the manuals of the Catholic ascetics, they must find a more subtle means to appropriate it.

¹¹³ See Bozeman, *To Live Ancient Lives*, 7-11; his approach was discussed in chap. 1 of this study, pp. 2-3.

¹¹⁴ For a discussion of the intensity of anti-Catholic feeling among nearly all English Protestants during the latter half of the Elizabethan period, see Peter Lake, "Anti-Popery: The Structure of a Prejudice", in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642*, ed. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (London: Longman, 1989), 77-80.

CHAPTER 6

RICHARD ROGERS'S *SEVEN TREATISES* (1603): A "COUNTERPOYSON"
TO CATHOLIC ASCETIC LITERATURE

Scholars have typically identified Richard Rogers's large spiritual guide, the *Seven Treatises*, as a seminal contribution to the history of Protestant devotional literature, and the firstfruits of an abundant harvest of pietistic manuals by puritan authors that were published during the first two-thirds of the seventeenth century. William Haller described Rogers's work as "the first important exposition of the code of behavior which expressed the English Calvinist, or, more broadly speaking, the Puritan, conception of the spiritual and moral life", and believed that it "inaugurated a literature the extent and influence of which in all departments of life can hardly be exaggerated".¹ F. Ernest Stoeffler similarly claimed that "the code of Puritan casuistry . . . was first systematized by Richard Rogers",² and Patrick Collinson felt his manual was "symptomatic of a new departure in puritan religion".³ Theodore Bozeman contrasted the *Seven Treatises* with works by Tyndale, Cranmer, Bradford, Becon, Dering and other English Protestants who flourished before Rogers, claiming that it signalled a "pietist turn" in puritan teaching. "Excepting Rogers," Bozeman wrote, "none of [these] figures had made the fully pietist move. . . . As seen in the very conception of his six-hundred-page handbook of spiritual direction, the pietist venture moved decisively beyond theirs."⁴

In this final chapter, an alternative but complementary interpretation of Rogers's text will be offered, which characterises the *Seven Treatises* not as a beginning, but as an end, or resolution. When Rogers composed this text, it is contended, he was not merely responding to the pastoral needs of his imagined readers in an original way; he was also addressing a problem, full of polemical significance, which had disturbed English Protestants like him for nearly two decades. Evidence presented here suggests that Rogers composed his *Seven Treatises* as a response to the Catholic ascetic works about which Robert Persons had boasted, in his 1585 *Resolution*, or *Christian Directorie*, which have been discussed in detail in this study; and that Rogers actually used these Catholic treatises as a model for his own

¹ Haller, *Rise of Puritanism*, 36.

² Stoeffler, *Rise of Evangelical Pietism*, 60.

³ Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 382.

⁴ Bozeman, *Precisianist Strain*, 67.

text, to a significant degree. The bulk of this evidence derives from two sources: the preliminary comments with which Rogers and two of his minister friends framed and introduced the *Seven Treatises* to readers, and the content of the book itself. These will be discussed in turn, after a brief discussion of the work's basic structure, its author and the context of its creation.

I. The *Seven Treatises* in Historical Context

Rogers's guide was published as a folio of just over 600 leaves, in roman type (fig. 3). *Seven Treatises, Containing Such Direction as Is Gathered out of the Holie Scriptures, Leading and Guiding to True Happines* first appeared in 1603, and seven editions followed, up to 1630. Two abridged versions were made available in 1618. One was called *The Practice of Christianitie*, and was arranged by Stephen Egerton, a colleague of Rogers, about whom more will be said shortly. Six editions of this were issued over the next seventeen years. The other abridgement, different from that of Egerton, was published under the name of Paul Baynes, and gave no attribution to Rogers. Interestingly, Baynes probably sat under Rogers's theological instruction as a pupil at the grammar school that convened on his property, before he entered Cambridge in 1590.⁵ A second edition of Baynes's *Briefe Directions unto a Godly Life* was printed in 1637. Portions of Rogers's manual reappeared in two other texts, as well. One was by Thomas Cooper, best known as the author of *The Mystery of Witch-Craft*,⁶ which was entitled *The Christians Daily Sacrifice: Containing a Daily Direction for a Setled Course of Sanctification*. Its subtitle revealed the derivative nature of its contents, as *Expressing the Scope of the Seven Treatises of Master Rogers, as also the Summe of Master Greenham His Spirituall Observations*. This was printed twice, in 1608 and 1615. The other text containing material by Rogers was an anthology of early puritan devotional teaching called *A Garden of Spirituall Flowers*, which also featured excerpts by William Perkins, Richard Greenham, Miles

⁵ Knappen, ed., *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, 27, n. 22.

⁶ Cooper's work on witchcraft appeared in 1617; see Stephen Wright, "Cooper, Thomas (b. 1569/70, d. in or after 1626)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6230>> (13 Aug 2008).

Mosse and George Webbe.⁷ This collection appears to have been extremely popular: thirty-two editions are recorded between 1609 and 1687.

Roger's tome was divided, as its title indicates, into seven parts, addressing separate but related areas. Each treatise was around eighty-five pages in length.⁸ It purported to help converted Christians—"such as *have tasted how good the Lord is*"—to understand their own corruption and spiritual need, and to draw upon the resources available to them through faith. In the first treatise, Rogers laid out the distinguishing marks of an elect Christian—"to shew, who are his, and who they are which in an holy, and humble manner may rest satisfied in his promises".⁹ The provision of such criteria was not new, having become more common in Protestant literature towards the close of the sixteenth century, as below discussed. The second treatise, being the longest of all, laid out a detailed picture of the believer's life as it should be, illustrating "what course of life [Christians] must walke in, throughout their dayes".¹⁰ From these first two treatises, Rogers explained, "all the other points handled in this booke doe arise".¹¹ The third described "the meanes whereby a godly life is holpen and continued": spiritual exercises such as prayer, meditation and observance of the Lord's Supper.¹² The fourth treatise, being the second longest, laid out a "daily direction" for readers—that is, a devotional schedule to be followed daily and weekly. This, Rogers insisted, "requireth to be read againe and againe, as being neither commonly intreated of, and of singular use to such as desire to take good by it".¹³ The fifth treatise presented the obstacles that believers encounter in life, and the appropriate means of overcoming them. The sixth listed the special privileges enjoyed by the saints during and after their earthly sojourn, and the seventh and final treatise, being only thirty pages in length, anticipated objections that might arise from "weake christians, or carnall cavillers" to the daily direction set down in the fourth treatise.¹⁴

⁷ *A Garden of Spirituall Flowers* was probably arranged by Mosse himself; see Craig, "Mosse, Miles (1558–1615)", in *ODNB*. Ironically, Thomas Rogers had chided Mosse in his own work, *Miles Christianus*, because Mosse allegedly opposed the publication of edifying literature (see pp. 137–38 above).

⁸ Elizabeth Hudson believed that Rogers may have devised his title with reference to the 1599 edition of Granada's *A Memoriall of a Christian Life*, the subtitle of which read, "Devided into Seaven Treatises"; no means of confirming this has appeared, however. See "Catholic Challenge": 13, n. 24.

⁹ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. B2r.

¹⁰ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. B2r.

¹¹ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. B2v.

¹² R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 211.

¹³ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. B2v.

¹⁴ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. B2v.

SEVEN TREATISES,

CONTAINING SVCH
DIRECTION AS IS GATHERED

OVT OF THE HOLIE SCRIPTVRES,
leading and guiding to true happines, both in this life,
and in the life to come: and may be called the
practise of Christianitie.

PROFITABLE FOR ALL SVCH AS HEAR-
TLY DESIRE THE SAME: IN THE WHICH,
more particularly true Christians may learne how to leade a
godly and comfortable life every day.

PENNED BY RICHARD ROGERS, PREACHER OF
the word of God at *Westersfield* in *Essex*.

DEVT. 33. v. 12.

*The beloved of the Lord shall dwell in safetie with him, who protecteth him all the
day long.*

PSAL. 84. v. 10.

One day in thy Courts is better then a thousand other where.



From the early 1580s, Richard Rogers established himself as an integral member of the puritan community in East Anglia, and a fairly active sponsor of presbyterian reform. He was born in 1551, in Moulsham, Chelmsford, Essex, the son of John Rogers, a carpenter of modest means.¹⁵ At fifteen, he matriculated as a sizar of Christ's College, Cambridge. Rogers graduated BA in 1571, and was ordained deacon and then priest in the same year. At some point he moved to Gonville and Caius College, proceeding MA in 1574. He was then appointed to the curacy of Radwinter, Essex. From the outset, Rogers displayed an uncommon enthusiasm in pastoral ministry, making frequent calls to parishioners who were spiritually receptive, and catechising from Scripture.¹⁶ In 1577, he accepted a lectureship in Wethersfield, Essex, where he would remain until his death, in 1618, and where he would build his reputation as an architect of puritan piety. Aside from lecturing (preaching), he probably also served as curate of the parish for the vicar, John Ludham, who was chronicled as a non-resident and an "unpreaching minister".¹⁷

Rogers carried on a busy ministerial career in Wethersfield. His duties went beyond those of the preacher and curate, as he also supervised a large and active household. In addition to his own family—at least two sons and four daughters by his first wife, Barbara, and four sons inherited through Susan, his second—he often hosted boarders, as well. Some were young minister-disciples of his, while Knappen believes others may have been individuals troubled in conscience, who came to Rogers for spiritual succour: "curious individuals who . . . used to stay for a season with some famous 'surgeon of souls'".¹⁸ Rogers also catechized the students at the village's grammar school, which met on his property. In addition to his lengthy *Seven Treatises*, he also penned a handful of commentaries based on sermon lectures he had delivered on the books of Kings, Samuel, Judges and Acts. Only the work on Judges was published, however.¹⁹ A collection of Rogers's sermons, on various aspects of

¹⁵ Unless otherwise indicated, biographical information is taken from Francis J. Bremer, "Rogers, Richard (1551–1618)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23995>> (16 June 2005); and from Patrick Collinson's sketch of Rogers in Collinson, Craig and Usher, eds., *Conferences and Combination Lectures*, 244–46.

¹⁶ See Richard Rogers, *Certain Sermons Preached and Penned* (London: 1612), 142–43; cited in Bremer, "Rogers, Richard (1551–1618)", in *ODNB*.

¹⁷ Thomas W. Davids, *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in Essex* (London: Jackson, Walford and Hodder, 1863), 88..

¹⁸ Knappen, ed., *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, 26.

¹⁹ Richard Rogers, *A Commentary Upon the Whole Booke Booke of Judges* (London: 1613).

Christian living, was printed in 1612.²⁰ In his journal, Rogers also mentioned some texts he had drawn up for personal use, including a list of epigrams and other items, to which he referred as “my booke of sentences for medit[ation]”.²¹

Rogers claimed to have composed his *Seven Treatises* “out of the word of God by that little helpe of my knowledge and experience”,²² and he assured readers that the strenuous rule of piety he espoused in the work was not unattainable, as he and others had proven:

That none thinke me to have taken in hand a matter above my reach, and wherein I have no skill, thus much I say, that for these twentie yeares and more I have aymed at this, in my reading, preaching, and living, and in the observing of my selfe, and the example of others, what communion and neere acquaintance there may be betwixt God and a Christian, what hold may be laid on the promises of God, what strength may be gotten against sinne, . . . also how farre the spirit may overcome the flesh, and how the divell may be resisted.²³

Rogers’s journal, extant from 1587 to 1590, affirms that he took a studious interest in the progress of redemption as it worked upon his own soul. “It is an other thing that I desire,” he wrote, “to know my own hart better, where I know that much is to be gotten in the understaunding of it, and to be acquainted with the diverse corners of it and what sin I am in most daunger of and what dilig[ence] and meanes I use against any sin and how I goe under any afflic[tion]”.²⁴ He used the diary to document the rise and fall of his spiritual vigour during these years. “This month, for all the gracious intraunce into it . . . hath been much lik unto the former”, he lamented at one point, “for though I began well, yet I by litle and litle fell from the strength which I had gotten”.²⁵ On another occasion, he observed in himself “much untowardnes to study and med[itiation] as to such lik godly [things]”, and guessed that the cause of his lethargy was “want of stricter diet, and the takeing of too much libertie in godes lawful bless[ings], and a contenting my selfe to kepe a comon course and takeing to much ease”. In consideration of these setbacks, he resolved “to try what may be

²⁰ *Certaine sermons Preached and Penned by Richard Rogers Preacher of Weathersfield in Essex* (London: 1612).

²¹ Knappen, ed., *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, 58.

²² Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. B1v.

²³ Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. B2r.

²⁴ R. Rogers, in Knappen, ed., *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, 62.

²⁵ R. Rogers, in Knappen, ed., *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, 55.

obtained in this behalfe by a more spary and wise course taking".²⁶ The journal documents Rogers's experimentation with a self-administered covenant, into which he and a close friend, Ezekiel Culverwell, entered in August 1587. This amounted to a resolution to keep close watch over their thoughts and deeds—a "covenant of wary walkinge with the lorde" which was not unlike a monastic vow, as both Knappen and Morgan have observed.²⁷ One month after making this covenant, Rogers was pleased that "My care in general hath continued as the last month I determined". Though he still suffered temptation—"this after noone I felt a stronge desire to injoy more liberty . . . me thought it great bondage to be tyed from delighting in such thinges as I tooke pleasure in"—he could draw useful wisdom from the struggle, in reflecting upon it: "And thus I see how harde it is to keepe our mindes in awe and attendinge uppon the lorde in some good duty or other".²⁸ Rogers was very pleased with the fruits of his covenant with Culverwell, and shared the concept with other ministers, who apparently responded favourably: "I urged them to see the necessitie of this covenant making, which I lately entred into", Rogers recorded, "they consentinge that they had especial cause to complaine that thei had much decayed in fervent and earnest desire of pleasing god".²⁹

In 1588, Rogers sought to implement a similar but more elaborate covenant with twenty members of his Wethersfield congregation who he insisted were "no Brownists", but "diligent and ordinarie frequenters of publicke assemblies", who "with one consent, fell into communication how the case stood betwixt God and themselves". Their covenant's terms, which Rogers included in the fifth of his *Seven Treatises*, began with a complaint of their spiritual shortcomings, which had necessitated the agreement, and then laid out a series of remedies to prevail over these, if possible.³⁰ If ordinary means of grace were found to be inadequate at any time, for example, the covenant's participants were to fast and pray, and set aside time daily for prayer and meditation. Rogers depicted the covenant itself as an effective means of overcoming "the manifold lets the faithfull have in this world".³¹ His account would help to inspire John Winthrop and other puritans who used covenants

²⁶ R. Rogers, in Knappen, ed., *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, 85.

²⁷ Knappen, ed., *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, 61, 8; Morgan, *Godly Preachers*, 120.

²⁸ R. Rogers, in Knappen, ed., *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, 59-60.

²⁹ R. Rogers in Knappen, ed., *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, 67-68.

³⁰ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 477-92.

³¹ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 477.

to bind their New World communities together in reverent solidarity.³² In the preface to the *Seven Treatises*, Stephen Egerton would affirm Rogers's engagement with pietistic methods, both personal and corporate, commending him as "one, who hath long laboured the conversion of, and confirmation of many other; but especially the mortification and quickning of his own soule and conscience".³³

After leaving Cambridge, Rogers became involved in the puritan *classis* movement in Essex, likely building on relationships that had been established at the university. M. M. Knappen, the editor of Rogers's diary, marveled at the distances he covered in order to meet with clerical associates in the region: "In three and a half years [the span of the diary] he was in Huntingdonshire once, Cambridge four times, and London, some forty miles distant, ten times at least—not to mention numerous occasions on which he went shorter distances."³⁴ Some of these meetings were convened to shore up plans for ecclesiastical reform, but others were more benign, providing the attendees with a venue to discuss matters of parish ministry or sharpen their preaching skills. Rogers was frequently edified by such gatherings, as a typical entry in his journal attests. "We had a meeting at Cl. a bethinkinge of our selves how we might rouze upp our selves to a further care of beseeminge the gospel", he jotted in 1587, "which was very fruitfull."³⁵

Rogers was called before the authorities several times, as a result of his stance on various church issues. His journal records the anxiety he felt during the late 1580s over the prospect of "losing liberty" for non-conformity:

May 20, 1587. . . . And whither my liberty be taken from me utterly, which thing I feare, or whither I injoy it, I would that my lif in my family guiding and with the people and espec[ially] to mine owne self warde might be a paterne of good.

Sept. 30, 1587. . . . By the b[ishop's] discountenaunceing of us who have refused subscription to the book we are more odious to all that company and to such as they can perswade then the worst men liveinge. . . . But the cause whi I made mencion of this chaunge was that I may look for more of them, and count them no straunge thinges even till my lif be taken from me also.

Nov. 18, 1589. I, perceiving my mind not so cheerful nor of so good courage as to be readily disposed to duty, and that by reason of my great liklihood of suspension, I did this morn[ing], after the reading of some part of my

³² Susan Hardman Moore, *Pilgrims: New World Settlers & the Call of Home* (London: Yale University Press, 2007), 39.

³³ Egerton, "To the Christian Reader", in *Seven Treatises*, sig. A3r.

³⁴ Knappen, ed., *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, 27.

³⁵ Knappen, ed., *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, 69; from a long entry dated Nov. 29, 1587.

wri[tings], fall to further consideracion with my selfe how to frame my mind wi[lfully] to goe under it, though in it selfe most unwelcome.³⁶

In spite of lingering fears, however, Rogers managed to avoid severe punishment throughout his career, thanks mostly to the mediation of sympathetic gentry.³⁷ He was one of the twenty-seven Essex ministers who petitioned Whitgift's three articles in 1584, and was suspended as a result. Thirty weeks after falling under sentence, however, he was reinstated by the bishop of London, who had been assuaged by landowner and politician, Sir Robert Wroth, "a moderate but firm protestant".³⁸ Rogers dodged suspension following the visitation of 1586, but in 1589 he was ordered to administer the sacraments according to the official Prayer Book, and to use the surplice. By way of a letter from Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick, stating that Rogers was his chaplain, he secured a respite from the court.³⁹ Rogers was recorded as unlicensed to preach after the last visitation of John Aylmer, Bishop of London, in 1592. In 1605, after Bancroft's last visitation (as Archbishop of Canterbury), Rogers was called into consistory to report to Bishop Richard Vaughan, in order "to be resolved of his doubts touching his conformity in the ceremonies".⁴⁰ His case was prorogued, however, and through the help of courtier William Knollys, Rogers evaded sentence.⁴¹ When Thomas Ravis later took Vaughan's seat, Knollys continued to shield him from prosecution.⁴²

Rogers was probably one of the founders of a small conference held regularly in Braintree, near Wethersfield. This group appears to have formed in September 1582, when a larger assembly of puritan ministers from the surrounding parishes met in Wethersfield.⁴³ Rogers hosted the larger gathering, at which plans were made to establish an organization of ministers from the surrounding regions. This body's first

³⁶ Knappen, ed., *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, 54, 60, 92; Knappen discusses Rogers's view of persecution on pp. 28-32.

³⁷ See Collinson, Craig and Usher, eds., *Conferences and Combination Lectures*, 244-46.

³⁸ L. L. Ford, "Wroth, Sir Robert (c.1539-1606)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30083>> (11 Aug 2008).

³⁹ Collinson, Craig and Usher, eds., *Conferences and Combination Lectures*, 245.

⁴⁰ London Metropolitan Archives, Duchy of Lancaster (in the Public Record Office, London [Kew])/C/317, 673; cited in Collinson, Craig and Usher, eds., *Conferences and Combination Lectures*, 245.

⁴¹ For more on Knollys see Victor Stater, "Knollys, William, first earl of Banbury (c.1545-1632)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15760>> (11 Aug 2008).

⁴² Collinson, Craig and Usher, eds., *Conferences and Combination Lectures*, 245.

⁴³ See Collinson, Craig and Usher, eds., *Conferences and Combination Lectures*, 246, n. 7.

official meeting was convened one month later, in nearby Dedham.⁴⁴ Thereafter, it met in secret on a Monday in each month. Though many of the procedures observed at Dedham mirrored those of the Continental reformed churches, its jurisdiction was much more limited, and “to call it a presbyterian *classis* would be to beg too many questions”, Collinson has noted.⁴⁵ The smaller gathering at Braintree seems to have occurred weekly or fortnightly.

Rogers’s diary indicates that all or part of his *Seven Treatises* was probably conceived within the Braintree conference, in December 1587. “The 6 of this month”, he wrote, “we fasted betwixt our selves, min[isters], to the stirringe upp of our selves to greater godliness. Veary good thinges we gathered to this purpose, . . . and then we determined to bring into writinge a direction for our lives, which might be both for our selves and others.”⁴⁶ Rogers was appointed by his companions to produce this “direction”. Because his *Seven Treatises* was not published until fifteen years later, scholars have wondered whether he and others in the group had actually envisaged that work at this meeting in 1587, or if the writing to which he referred then was to be a smaller and simpler text, such as the schedule of devotional exercises which would later comprise the fourth treatise of his *Seven Treatises*.⁴⁷ In the preface to the *Seven Treatises*, Rogers claimed that he had been reflecting on the material in that work “for twentie yeares and more”, but that he had been writing for a shorter period of time: “More especially for these seaven yeares and more”, he wrote, “I have more particularly set my selfe about the matter, which in this booke is contained”.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ The notes of the Dedham Conference have been published in Collinson, Craig and Usher, eds., *Conferences and Combination Lectures*, 3-50.

⁴⁵ Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 226.

⁴⁶ Knappen, ed., *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, 59. The date marking this entry is 22 December, but there is a chance Rogers was actually referring to 6 November, 1587. This would have been the first Monday of that month. The register for the larger Dedham meeting records that on 6 November, 1587, “Where the whole tyme was spent in praier and fastinge, the tyme wold not geve leave to debate of any matters”; see Collinson, Craig and Usher, eds., *Conferences and Combination Lectures*, 41. So the work that later became the *Seven Treatises* may have been conceived at the Dedham meeting. However, in the same entry, Rogers mentioned a six-mile ride home following the conference in question. Since Dedham is around twenty-five or thirty miles from Wethersfield, and Braintree is approximately seven miles away, it seems more likely that Rogers was referring to a Braintree gathering on 6 December, 1587 (a Wednesday).

⁴⁷ Morgan (*Godly Preachers*, 117) observed that Rogers’s diary made mention of the planned “direction” for only one month following the 1587 conference, and assumed that he must have finished this project, allegedly a prototype of the *Seven Treatises*, during that month. Similarly, Elizabeth Hudson believed the Braintree group had planned a regimen of daily devotions, and that this was later enhanced by Rogers and placed at the heart of his *Seven Treatises* (“Catholic Challenge”: 15).

⁴⁸ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. B2r.

Two scenarios seem possible. The work that Rogers and his colleagues conceived in 1587 may have been one and the same with the *Seven Treatises*, published later, in which case it would seem Rogers postponed work on the guide until the mid-1590s, when he indicates that he began “more particularly” to write. Alternatively, the two projects may have been separate. Rogers may have completed the first “direction” within a brief period, and begun the *Seven Treatises* later on. The former explanation seems more plausible, for at least two reasons. First, the “direction” he mentioned in his journal was designed to benefit the Braintree group members “and others”.⁴⁹ Of the three original titles published during Rogers’s lifetime, the *Seven Treatises* best fits the description of this “direction”.⁵⁰ In a handful of places in the work itself, Rogers actually referred to the *Seven Treatises* using this term, as when he informed readers that “the whole matter herein contained, is to serve . . . as setting before thee a direction to governe thy whole life”.⁵¹ Second, Rogers admitted that the creation of the *Seven Treatises* was motivated, in large part, by Robert Persons’s taunt concerning the dearth of worthy devotional writings in the Protestant camp—an admission that is discussed in more detail below.⁵² Persons’s remarks had been published in 1585, just two years before the Braintree project was outlined. Even though Rogers did not list in his journal the factors that had motivated the Braintree endeavour, it seems likely that Persons’s gibe, which still agitated Rogers and his puritan colleagues eighteen years later, as evidenced by their comments in the *Seven Treatises*, had probably also been a factor in the creation of the Braintree text. Ultimately, more research will be required to ascertain the nature of the connection between the *Seven Treatises* and this earlier “direction”.

As discussed in the introduction to this study, researchers have proposed various theories to account for what has been called the “pietist turn” in puritanism, which occurred during the last decade of the Elizabethan period.⁵³ This change was characterised by “a retreat from structural reform” and “a move toward an inward,

⁴⁹ Knappen, ed., *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, 59.

⁵⁰ These included his sermons and his commentary on Judges, published in 1612 and 1615, respectively. His exposition on *Samuels Encounter with Saul* was published posthumously, in 1620.

⁵¹ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. B4r; for other examples, see sig. A5r, A6r, B1v,

⁵² See R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. A6r-B2r.

⁵³ Bozeman weighs the factors that lay behind this change in pt. 2 of *The Precisianist Strain*, 63-180.

introspective piety that temporarily bypassed institutional restructuring",⁵⁴ and resulted in, among other things, the writing of a large body of puritan devotional literature with markedly pietistic or ascetic features. Before moving on to discuss the role that Catholic ascetic literature appears to have played in the conception and composition of Richard Rogers's *Seven Treatises*, it will be helpful to revisit these theories, and to note key differences between them, in order to clarify the thesis that is being advanced here. They may be grouped into three broad categories.

Some modern scholars have posited that broad socioeconomic changes were at least partially responsible for producing "the Puritan zest for regulation" reflected in many sermons and pietistic tracts printed during the late Elizabethan and Stuart periods.⁵⁵ They cite the accelerated population growth England experienced at this time, which benefited those who capitalised on the increased demand for goods and services, but which was also contributed to a disconcerting rise in the number of poor, who were increasingly viewed as harbingers of crime and disorder. These and related changes are alleged to have caused disorientation and insecurity in many, especially those in the upper and middle classes. "Within this portrait of poverty-ridden, polarized, and fearful society in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century," Bozeman has observed,

Puritanism appears as a timely and eminently functional force. Understood as a disciplinary agent called into play by fears of disorder, it is assigned a role in the process of readjustment through which the rising classes both redefined their place in society and, more particularly, sought to contain and control the poor and often to ameliorate their distress.⁵⁶

Alongside puritan efforts to regulate the morality of the poor, he demonstrates, there were also calls to the wealthy, to forsake worldly greed and to treat the poor fairly.

⁵⁴ E. Brooks Holifield, *The Covenant Sealed: The Development of Puritan Sacramental Theology in New England, 1570–1720* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 38; see also Haller, *Rise of Puritanism*, 85; Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 385; Hill, *Society and Puritanism*, 502; and Bozeman, *Precisianist Strain*, 65.

⁵⁵ Bozeman, *Precisianist Strain*, 58; he discusses this basic thesis on pp. 40–60 of that work. Studies which have advanced it include J. A. Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England, 1550–1750*, 2nd edn. (London: Longman, 1999), 16–17, 183; William Hunt, *The Puritan Moment: The Coming of Revolution in an English County* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), passim; Hill, *Society and Puritanism*, 221–22; Derek Hirst, *Authority and Conflict: England, 1603–1658* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986), 75; and Lovelace, "Puritan Spirituality", 300–301.

⁵⁶ Bozeman, *Precisianist Strain*, 42.

“The presbyterian party”, he writes, “viewed absorption in commercial gain and the sharp dealing that often attended it as integral to the contemporary moral crisis”.⁵⁷ There is a multitude of evidence in Rogers’s case which might be used to verify the general thesis described here. His diary and devotional manual are scattered with comments that testify to his pessimism regarding the spiritual condition of the populace, and his desire to “make the Christian way any thing more easie and pleasant . . . then many finde it; and to bring it into more price, then the most doe value it at”.⁵⁸ Notably, one of the four sins with which he claimed to struggle most consistently was worldly ambition, or “liking of worldly profit”.⁵⁹ On a good day, for instance, Rogers would express thanks that “in the right use of the world I seemed to my self to have gotten of my selfe, to determine in this great abomi[ination] to not to be hunting, gapeing for more with discontent[ment]”.⁶⁰ Rogers’s teaching certainly reflected a “zest for regulation”.⁶¹ “The godly life,” he claimed, “is neither left to men to be sometime practised, and at other times may be neglected, nor generally . . . but particularly in al their actions, and every day, and throughout the day, to be looked unto and regarded”.⁶²

Secondly, other historians have speculated that the failure of institutional reform campaigns and the political backlash that brought with it persecution prompted puritans to turn to alternate means, such as preaching and writing, to bring about the national reformation they desired.⁶³ They gave more attention to “the household, ruled by godly fathers of families” and abandoned “the parish ruled by dumb dogs and hirelings”.⁶⁴ One could argue that Rogers’s own effort lends credibility to this theory as well. During the latter part of 1586 and much of 1587, supporters of presbyterian church government had rallied for a Book of Discipline, which outlined procedures for the implementation of “presbytery in episcopacy” among the members of the

⁵⁷ Bozeman, *Precisianist Strain*, 47.

⁵⁸ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. A5r; examples of Rogers’s pessimism: Knappen, ed., *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, 57, 80, 86, 91; and *Seven Treatises*, sig. B3v, 28-29, 295, 569.

⁵⁹ Knappen, ed., *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, 5; examples of Rogers’s concern over temptation to greed: 54-55, 57, 61, 65, 67-68, 80-81, 83, 96.

⁶⁰ R. Rogers, in Knappen, ed., *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, 61.

⁶¹ Bozeman, *Precisianist Strain*, 58.

⁶² R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 294-95.

⁶³ See, e.g., Haller, *Rise of Puritanism*, 85; Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 385; Morgan, *Godly Preachers*, 102; Bozeman, *Precisianist Strain*, 63.

⁶⁴ Hill, *Society and Puritanism*, 501.

scattered assemblies of reformist clergy.⁶⁵ Corresponding reforms had been urged in the Parliament of late 1586, but to no avail. Although members of the Dedham conference responded coolly to this Book, deferring comment on the proposed discipline until it was all but forgotten, Rogers seems to have been at least willing to consider the plan. It is likely that in early September, 1587—just months before the Braintree conference would conceive of the “direction” mentioned above—he and another member of the same group at Braintree, George Gifford,⁶⁶ attended a meeting in Cambridge, along with representatives from several counties, at which subscription to the Book of Discipline was discussed. “There can be no doubt”, Collinson writes, “that the Cambridge *Acta* [a document recording the minutes of this event] in their totality represent the deliberations of a body which held itself to be the provincial assembly of a nascent English presbyterian church.”⁶⁷ Ironically, this event would mark the apex of the puritan movement’s hopes for institution-level reform during the Elizabethan period.⁶⁸ Such aspirations were extinguished during the following decade, as the party led by Archbishop of Canterbury John Whitgift and his chaplain Richard Bancroft became more aggressive, and scores of non-conformist ministers were censured by the High Commission.⁶⁹ By his own account, Rogers wrote most of the *Seven Treatises* during the late 1590s, when this conservative party led by Whitgift and Bancroft had the upper hand.

The two theories described above do help to explain the observed increase in the number of puritan devotional tracts after the 1590s, and the predominance of the themes of self-regulation and moral rigour in these writings. However, it is contended here that the most accurate means by which to account for the peculiar shape of puritan teaching after the “pietist turn” is to examine the shape of religious teaching in England prior to this change; the underlying premise being that aspects of this earlier teaching wielded a more determinative influence on the thought of puritan pietist writers than the factors described above. Several historians have adopted this line of reasoning, but they have divided over the nature of the relationship between the

⁶⁵ A phrase used by Thomas Fuller, in *The Church History of Britain: From the Birth of Jesus Christ Until the Year M.DC.XLVIII*, 6 vols., ed. J. S. Brewer (Oxford University Press: 1845), vol. 5, 7; quoted in Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 329.

⁶⁶ Gifford is mentioned below in connection with his commentary on *Countrie Divinitie*; see p. 187-88.

⁶⁷ Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 322.

⁶⁸ Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 329.

⁶⁹ See Hill, *Society and Puritanism*, 502.

teaching of the pietist writers and that of earlier Protestants. Some paint a more positive picture, viewing the adoption of ascetic and pietistic methods by Protestants as an almost inevitable step in the unfolding of early Protestant doctrine. Thus, William Haller portrayed “English Puritanism, that spiritual outlook, way of life and mode of expression” as a product of Calvinist belief, nuanced by “the conditions imposed by Elizabeth upon the reform movement within the English church”.⁷⁰ Similarly, Richard Lovelace claimed that “Puritan devotional concern represents the natural development of a further stage in the Reformation, which had begun by restructuring doctrine and the exterior order of the church, and which was now turning to the development of its own inner life, heeding the clear biblical teaching that all was worthless without this last step”.⁷¹ Lovelace also posited that the anti-scholasticism of French philosopher Peter Ramus inspired puritans to turn away from dogmatic speculation, towards more practical areas of concern, and that the sermon had been the main literary precedent for the puritan devotional treatise. “The most distinctive Puritan devotional works are not [prayer] collections, like their Anglican counterparts,” he wrote,

but connected treatises developed either from a text or a main topic and often frankly designated as elaborations of sermonic material. The characteristic expression of the puritan religious spirit was, after all, not the manual for private meditation, but the sermon. This explanation of the main origin of Puritan devotional literature offers also an easy explanation of the rapid proliferation of Puritan works during our period.⁷²

More recently, Joel R. Beeke has asserted that “Reformed Christianity has followed a path of its own, largely determined by its concern to test all things by Scripture and to develop a spiritual life shaped by Scripture’s teachings and directives”, attributing its form to “the outworking of the conviction that ‘all scripture is given by inspiration from God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness’”.⁷³

In contrast to this portrayal, some scholars have depicted the “pietist turn” as an *ad hoc* adjustment that English Protestants were forced to make, in order to satisfy

⁷⁰ Haller, *Rise of Puritanism*, 9.

⁷¹ Lovelace, “Puritan Spirituality”, 301.

⁷² Lovelace, “Puritan Spirituality”, 299-300.

⁷³ Joel R. Beeke, *Puritan Reformed Spirituality* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Reformation Heritage, 2004), vii.

the expressed interests of consumers. They allege that Protestant thought, left to itself, could not (and would not) have developed as it did. Helen White, for instance, believed that puritan dislike for the official Prayer Book may have helped to prompt the writing of their pietistic substitutes. Peter Jensen concluded that works produced during the first part of the Elizabethan period, which laid stress on the doctrine of free grace, had left Protestants with “a longing [for practical instruction] which indicated the failure of Protestant teaching to provide what it had promised”.⁷⁴ And Elizabeth Hudson speculated that among Protestants “a natural anxiety arising from the doctrine of predestination and a sense of the need to demonstrate their faith more systematically” served “to spur puritans toward a methodical exposition of personal piety”.⁷⁵ Some have claimed, similarly but more generally, that the “pietist turn” represented a return to or rediscovery of traditional Christian teachings that had been dismissed during the Protestant Reformation. Martin Brecht saw “the essential reasons for the emergence of Pietism [in England and elsewhere] in the difficulties the Reformation churches had in realizing the Christian life”.⁷⁶ Irvonwy Morgan asserted that, “If there is one fact more than another which gave rise to the growth and extension of the Puritan movement it was the corruption of the Preaching Friars and Monastic Brotherhoods and their eventual dissolution in the days of Henry VIII”.⁷⁷ He claimed that puritan ministers assumed the role which the Preaching Friars had occupied in a former day. And recently, Bozeman has speculated that puritan pietism represented, among other things, “a delayed response to the vacuum left by removal of the monastic organization of prayer, devotion, and self-discipline”, and other components of late-medieval Catholicism.⁷⁸

Evidence collected for the present study suggests that this latter group offer a more accurate representation of the situation. That is, it appears that Richard Rogers’s *Seven Treatises* was composed in response to a perceived gap in the existing corpus of Protestant literature, and that its form and content owe more to the influence of

⁷⁴ Jensen, “The Life of Faith”, 173.

⁷⁵ White, *English Devotional Literature*, 159; cited in Lovelace, “Puritan Spirituality”, 300; Hudson, “Catholic Challenge”, 20.

⁷⁶ Lindberg, introduction to *Pietist Theologians*, 4; for Brecht’s definition, see Brecht and others, eds. *Geschichte des Pietismus*, 1: 116.

⁷⁷ Morgan, *Godly Preachers*, 2.

⁷⁸ Bozeman, *Precisianist Strain*, 64.

Catholic ascetic treatises than to “the natural development of . . . the Reformation”,⁷⁹ as will now be demonstrated.

II. Framing the *Seven Treatises* as a “Counterpoyson”

When the *Seven Treatises* was finally ready for print, Rogers enlisted three other puritan ministers—Stephen Egerton, Ezekiel Culverwell, and Francis Marbury—to help him introduce his work to the reading public. Each of them contributed a brief preface, praising Rogers and his effort.⁸⁰ Egerton was for some time an active proponent of presbyterian reform, and an associate of John Field, who coordinated a number of puritan campaigns.⁸¹ After graduating BA in 1576 and proceeding MA in 1579 from Cambridge, he was ordained, in 1581, and settled into a lectureship at St Ann Blackfriars in London. He was thought suspect by bishops John Aylmer and Richard Bancroft, but when the latter attempted to stop his twice-weekly lectures, in 1601, Sir Robert Cecil intervened. In 1603, he and Arthur Hildersham joined to organise the millenary petition, and he also helped to draw up instructions for delegates at the Hampton Court Conference, the following year. Egerton was suspended briefly in 1605, by Bishop Richard Vaughan, but was soon reinstated. Nevertheless, he stopped preaching at St Ann Blackfriars within two years. He brought two popular works to press: a translation of a French Calvinist text, Matthew Virel’s *A Learned and Excellent Treatise Containing All Principal Grounds of the Christian Religion*, and *A Brief Method of Catechizing* (both 1594), forty-four editions of which were printed.⁸² In addition to Richard Rogers’s composition,

⁷⁹ Lovelace, “Puritan Spirituality”, 301.

⁸⁰ In his brief address “To the Christian Reader”, Francis Marbury made no mention of Catholic ascetic literature, unlike Egerton, Culverwell and Rogers. Marbury began his career as a presbyterian “hothead”, but drifted towards the religious centre by the end of the sixteenth century. He held a post in Northampton, but later moved to Lincolnshire. He is most famously remembered as the father of Anne Hutchinson, troubler of seventeenth-century Boston. See Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 433; and on Hutchinson, Michael P. Winship, “Hutchinson, Anne (bap. 1591, d. 1643)”, in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14280>> (20 February 2008).

⁸¹ The information here is taken from Brett Usher, “Egerton, Stephen (c.1555–1622)”, in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8593>> (11 Aug 2007); on Field, see p. 90.

⁸² Stephen Egerton, *A Brief Method of Catechizing* (London: 1594); Matthew Virel, *A Learned and Excellent Treatise Containing All Principal Grounds of the Christian Religion*, trans. Stephen Egerton (London: 1594).

Egerton also wrote a laudatory introduction for the *Workes* of the eminent puritan pietist, Richard Greenham, in 1605.

Ezekiel Culverwell was a close acquaintance of Rogers and a fellow attendee at the conference in Braintree. Rogers's journal indicates that the two enjoyed close fellowship. Culverwell's father, Nicholas, was a wealthy Protestant merchant who died young. Ezekiel's brother, Richard, took over the patronage of a number of godly causes when their father died. Culverwell attended Oxford, graduating BA in 1572, and proceeding MA in June 1577. He was ordained in 1585 in Lincoln, before coming to Essex to be chaplain at Leighs Priory, for Robert, third Lord Rich, in late 1586 or early 1587. Like Richard Rogers, he was occasionally troubled by the authorities for his non-conformist views. He was suspended for not wearing the surplice after the visitation of 1587, and was deprived by the high commission in 1609, having been harassed for some time by Thomas Ravis, Bishop of London. He spent the last two decades of his life in London, where he wrote a handful of works for the godly, including a comprehensive devotional work called *A Treatise of Faith* (1623).⁸³

Heidi Hackel has suggested that writers of the period used prefatory essays "to define readership and circumscribe the reading process". Along with the marginalia in a text, she claims, such preliminaries served to "narrow the interpretations available to readers".⁸⁴ The prefaces to Rogers's work are helpful in this regard, for they reveal how he and his friends wished to represent the *Seven Treatises* to potential readers, and the special issues that they felt they must address, in order to succeed in their portrayal. From the remarks that Rogers, Egerton and Culverwell have left behind, three points which are especially pertinent to this study can be deduced, which are discussed in turn below. First, Rogers and his friends perceived Catholic ascetic literature as a considerable threat to the strength and integrity of the Protestant church in England. Second, it is apparent that Rogers realised that Protestants had never produced a systematic devotional text of the kind Robert Persons had cited when he had criticised Edmund Bunny and other Protestants, two decades earlier. Rogers reluctantly and indirectly conceded that Persons's gibe held some validity. And third, it is likely that Rogers composed his *Seven Treatises* according to the general pattern laid down in the Catholic ascetic treatises which have received attention in this study.

⁸³ Brett Usher, "Culverwell Family (*per.* c.1545–c.1640)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/70079>> (21 February 2008); Ezekiel Culverwell, *A Treatise of Faith* (London: 1623).

⁸⁴ Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England*, 90.

By the admission of its framers, Rogers's manual represented an attempt to weaken, if possible, the dangerous influence of these Catholic works, being offered itself as a Protestant substitute for them.

Even a casual reader sampling the opening leaves of the *Seven Treatises* will recognise that Rogers, Egerton and Culverwell were preoccupied with the challenge that Catholic ascetic literature represented to them (see appendices 1-3). This alone would seem to attest to the intensity of their concern regarding these works. In his "Entrance into the Book, or Preface to the Reader", Rogers shared the reasons he had composed the guide, most of which were predictable enough: he wished to give a spiritual boost to leaders and layfolk in the church, his friends had urged him to leave a record of his teaching, and he wanted to vindicate the way of the godly, "that it may bee brought into greater account with many, who thinke it (through error) overburdensome".⁸⁵ But just over three of the five pages set aside for discussing these reasons dealt with the taunt that Robert Persons had delivered against Edmund Bunny, and with Catholic ascetic literature. Both of the single-page essays of Egerton and Culverwell addressed the same topics.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Persons had written his disparaging comments in response to Bunny's bowdlerisation of his *Resolution*. In the 1585 edition of this text, renamed *A Christian Directorie*, Persons had declared that the Catholic Church had an indisputable monopoly on devotional writings. Protestants, by contrast, knew little about works of "this argument", as demonstrated by the lengths to which Bunny, Thomas Rogers and others had gone to find material to print.⁸⁶ Now, almost twenty years after this controversy had erupted, Rogers declared, "And partly also I was moved hereunto [to write] by this reason, that the Papists cast in our teeth, that we have nothing set out for the certaine and daily direction of a Christian, when yet they have published (they say) many treatises of that argument". Later he repeated the admission: "This was one cause why I tooke this worke in hand, because the Jesuites cast in our teeth the want of such bookes, as may direct a Christian aright through his whole course towards the kingdome of heaven".⁸⁷ Similarly, in his preface, Egerton chided "Papists, who would . . . beare men in hand, that al true devotion dwelt amongst them, and were inclosed and tyed to their Cels and

⁸⁵ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. A6r.

⁸⁶ Persons, *Christian Directorie* (1585), sig. B2r-v.

⁸⁷ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. A6r, B1v.

Cloysters". In Rogers's manual, Egerton claimed, readers would find "more true light and direction to a true devout and holy life, then in all the Resolutions of the Jesuiticall Father *Parsons* . . . or meditations of Frier *Granatensis*, or any Popish Directories whatsoever".⁸⁸ Culverwell echoed the point, acknowledging Persons's boast and urging readers to "take and examine streightly this one work [the *Seven Treatises*], and if it breathe not out more sound godlines in one leafe, then all their artificiall composed treatises of Resolution (which in their estimation are chiefe in this argument of a godly life) let me beare my deserved blame".⁸⁹

It is obvious that all three ministers were familiar with Persons's *Resolution*. Rogers confessed that "concerning their treatises, I graunt there are two which I have seene, set forth by them in our English tongue, the one called a Christian Directorie, the other the Exercise of a Christian life". The latter was Loarte's text, which Persons had originally intended to preface with his own composition. Egerton also mentioned the writings of Granada, or "*Frier Granatensis*".⁹⁰ This was probably a facetious allusion to the designation used by Francis Meres, the Protestant who had lauded "that rare and matchlesse Divine *F: Ludovicus Granatensis*" and "this reverend Authour *F. Ludovicus Granatensis*" in the dedications of *Granados Devotion* and *The Sinners Guyde*, both of which had been published in 1598.⁹¹ By the time Rogers finished the *Seven Treatises*, some twenty-seven editions of Persons's *Resolution* had appeared, the great majority of which (twenty-three) were editions of Bunny's adaptation. As mentioned previously, Rogers himself grieved that Persons's text "hath beene in the hands of thousands".⁹² Similarly, twenty editions of Granada's works had been printed, and three-fourths of these were Protestant bowdlerisations. Altogether, nearly eighty editions of Catholic ascetic texts, representing thirteen different titles, had circulated in England by the end of Elizabeth's reign (see fig. 2, p. 114).

Considering the large volume of these works, and the fact that so many of them were eagerly reprinted by Protestants, it is perhaps easy to see why puritans like Rogers and his companions expressed concern. Egerton portrayed the the Catholics'

⁸⁸ Egerton, preface to R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. A3r.

⁸⁹ Culverwell, preface to R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. A3v.

⁹⁰ Egerton, preface to R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. A3r.

⁹¹ Granada/Meres, *Granados Devotion* (1598), sig. A4r; Granada/Meres, *Sinners Guyde* (1598), sig. A2r.

⁹² R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. B1v.

shift in focus from polemical to devotional tracts as a feat of diabolical cunning, acknowledging, indirectly, the impressive success of their manoeuvre:

The children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light. The truth hereof may appeare in the Papists; who discerning that their bookes of Controversies, stuffed with manifold untruths, fallacians, and corruptions, were not able to gaine sufficiently (though small gaine be too great for such merchants) to their Babylonish kingdome, have set themselves and others on worke (being all set on worke of Hell) to penne certaine treatises, tending to insnare and intangle the minds of ignorant and simple Christians, in the corrupt and filthie puddle of Popish devotion.⁹³

Egerton believed that Catholics had published these devotional “inchauntments” as a means to win new converts to Rome, and not just to encourage the faithful. “By these meanes”, he wrote, they “would beare men in hand, that al true devotion dwelt amongst them, and were inclosed and tyed to their Cels and Cloysters”.⁹⁴ Rogers admitted that some on the Catholic side harboured sincere motives, but he was convinced, as one would expect, that little if any good could come from a Catholic guide: “Both of them [Persons and Loarte] I dare boldly affirme, being deceived themselves, doe deceive others, especially the simple, who is not able to discerne, and trie the lying spirit in them.”⁹⁵ Similarly, Culverwell assured readers that only the Protestant faith could produce a holy life, which “the devoutest Papist neither hath nor possiblie (in that profession) can attaine unto, lacking true faith the right mother and nurse of a godly life”.⁹⁶ Rogers lamented the fact that Persons’s treatise appealed to so many, but attributed this to its “glosing stile”, employed, he believed, “to insinuate with the ignorant and unlearned reader, that he seekes no other thing but to draw him to pietie and godliness”. By his charming rhetoric, Rogers observed, “he hath snared many simple peoples consciences thereby, who being themselves willing to be led in a right way, beleeeve that he meanes as he speaketh; and therefore are left, I say, deceived, and in a bottomless gulfe”.⁹⁷

In responding to the charge levelled by Robert Persons, “that we [Protestants] have nothing set out for the certaine and daily direction of a Christian”, Rogers

⁹³ Egerton, preface to R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. A3r.

⁹⁴ Egerton, preface to R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. A3r.

⁹⁵ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. A6v.

⁹⁶ Culverwell, preface to R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. A3v.

⁹⁷ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. A6v.

offered the same basic defence that Edmund Bunny had used, but he was more candid than Bunny about the state of Protestant devotional writing: “They [Catholics] cannot deny . . . that both in Catechisms, Sermons, and other Treatises, there is set forth by us that which may clearly direct Christians, and stir up godly devotion in them, *though all be not gathered together into one volume*”.⁹⁸ Significantly, Rogers noted elsewhere that the *Seven Treatises* differed from all previously published Protestant writings, in that it had been composed in a comprehensive, systematic format. In his dedication to James I, the new king, Rogers asserted that “this argument [work] deserved both a more learned and more gracious penne than mine. To which I would with al my heart have given place, if I had either seene before me, or heard behinde me the footsteps of any tending that way that I goe, though I confesse, there are some to bee seene travailing in waies neere adjoyning to this”.⁹⁹ And later, in his preface to readers, Rogers was more specific, explaining that

it were not only needlesse, but arrogancie and follie, for me to put in any hope, that I go about to teach that, which hath not been taught, and set foorth already by godly and learned brethren. But yet, least any should thinke my labour vaine, in that which I enterprise, I would all such might understand, that howsoever I shall bring no other thing, then some have, in generall, or in some part heretofore published; yet they shall not be glutted with the same thing in particular, *whether they respect the treatise and argument it selfe, or the manner of following and prosecuting the same*. At leastwise, I may say, that there hath not come to my hand any booke directly tending to this end, which I propound here in the seaven Treatises following. . . . Neither have I seene any treatise, and direction particularly drawne and gathered for mens lives to governe and order them, *which tieth them to daily use of the same throughout their whole course*.¹⁰⁰

In declaring that his work was the first to gather all needful devotional teaching “into one volume”, and to outline a spiritual programme for the governance of a Christian “throughout their whole course”, Rogers was admitting that Persons’s assertions were at least partially valid.¹⁰¹ As further discussion will demonstrate, there were probably even more features of the *Seven Treatises* that were without Protestant precedent than he implied in his prefatory comments.

⁹⁸ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. A6r; emphasis mine.

⁹⁹ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. A2r.

¹⁰⁰ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. A5r; emphasis mine.

¹⁰¹ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. A6r, A5r.

Other remarks in these preliminaries suggest that Rogers's text was intentionally constructed according to the blueprint of the Catholic ascetic treatises that he, Egerton and Culverwell resented so much. After criticising the works of Persons and Loarte, Rogers expressed confidence that his own *Seven Treatises* would be "such a direction for Christians (all ostentation, and comparison of learning set aside) as shall give them [Catholics] small advantage of boasting, and shall be both more pleasing to God, and more for the comforting of the heart of him, who listeth to be directed by it, then poperie can afford".¹⁰² Egerton affirmed that Rogers's intent had been "to write these Christian directions, as a counterpoyson to all such inchauntments of Papists".¹⁰³ How could one silence boasts like those that Persons had aired, except by producing a text similar to the works "of devotion pietie and contemplation" of which he had boasted?¹⁰⁴ By referring to the *Seven Treatises* as a "counterpoyson", Egerton seems to have implied that Rogers's manual had been designed for the very specific purpose of neutralising the dangerous influence that texts like the *Resolution* had wielded to that point. Perhaps, Rogers and these ministers hoped, readers would no longer be drawn to the "inchauntments of Papists", as they had been.¹⁰⁵ As a "counterpoyson", Rogers's work would provide a healthy, orthodox alternative to the Catholic ascetic treatises, assuming the same attractive form, but proving itself "more pleasing to God, and more for the comforting of the heart of him, who listeth to be directed by it, then poperie can afford".¹⁰⁶ If this hypothesis is correct, then one would expect to find substantial parallels between Rogers's pietistic treatise and the Catholic ascetic tracts of Persons, Loarte and others. Such similarities do exist, and will now be described.

III. Familiar Ascetic Features in the *Seven Treatises*

As the following discussion will aim to show, a great deal of Rogers's *Seven Treatises* was likely modelled after the example provided by Catholic ascetic literature. The originality of his work reflects his departure from the literary

¹⁰² R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. B1v.

¹⁰³ Egerton, preface to R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. A3r.

¹⁰⁴ Persons, *Christian Directorie* (1585), sig. B2r.

¹⁰⁵ Egerton, preface to R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. A3r.

¹⁰⁶ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. B1v.

approaches his Protestant contemporaries typically adopted. Nevertheless, it is apparent that more predictable sources also influenced Rogers, such as Scripture, early Reformed writings and the recently-published works of Richard Greenham and William Perkins. In order to show the extent to which the *Seven Treatises* mirrors the Catholic ascetic treatises, specifically, it will be helpful to refer to the four characteristic features that were identified for these Catholic works in chapter 3, and to discuss the extent to which these may be said to be present in Rogers's tome. In the course of this examination, mention will also be made of certain religious texts that were printed during the second half of the Elizabethan period, to set in relief more accurately, if possible, those aspects of the *Seven Treatises* which reflect the unique influence of the Catholic ascetic writings.

III.A. Recognition of the Spiritual Life as a Dynamic Progression

As shown before, Rogers ascribed special value to his *Seven Treatises* because it addressed the entire experience of the believer, from start to finish: "Neither have I seen any Treatise, and direction particularly drawn and gathered for mens lives to govern and order them," he claimed, "which ties them to daily use of the same throughout their whole course".¹⁰⁷ He depicted his manual as a compendium for Christians at all levels of maturity, "to helpe and benefit the plaine, and simple . . . as well as to bring the wiser and more learned sort acquainted with the practice of it".¹⁰⁸ The first treatise of Rogers's work provided guidance for the unconverted and those who were young in the faith, explaining how they could obtain salvation, and how they could tell the difference between faith which is weak but genuine and that which is counterfeit. This discourse was enhanced with information on the steps leading up to conversion, including contrition and repentance. This was Protestant purgation, even if the term was not used.¹⁰⁹ Rogers went on in the second treatise to describe the life of the authentic saint, using the Ten Commandments as an ethical framework for

¹⁰⁷ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. A5r.

¹⁰⁸ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. B3r.

¹⁰⁹ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 1-20. Morgan (*Godly Preachers*, 123-35) and Chan ("Puritan Meditative Tradition", 69-143) have both sought to demonstrate how the Puritan conception of growth in godliness was reminiscent of the ancient schema of purgation, illumination and union. Morgan's work focused on the *Seven Treatises*, to this end.

his presentation. He urged readers to utilize this section to identify scriptural imperatives that seemed especially difficult to obey, and to seek grace to root out these areas of sin and weakness—for “such must know, that it is the doctrine of the Scripture, that all the commaundements of God be had in account of us, and conscience made of one as well as of another”.¹¹⁰ Those who found in themselves a thoroughly penitent resolve were to advance to the third and fourth treatises, “that is, in the doctrine that requireth a daily walking in a Christian course [Treatise Four], by the use of such helps as are appointed of God for that purpose [Treatise Three]”.¹¹¹ Those who “understood, approved, consented unto, and aymed at” living in ordered, vigilant holiness, as spelled out in those sections, were then to proceed and prepare themselves for “the lets and hinderaunces” that the enemy would inevitably throw in their path, which were discussed in the sixth treatise.¹¹² Readers who gained some familiarity with these lets were to look to the privileges and blessings given to them by God, described in Rogers’s sixth treatise. These would guide them to the end of their pilgrimage:

And then when in the due consideration of the whole, he [the mature Christian] shall see what the blessednes and manifold good things are, which he in part hath already, and shall afterwards enjoy both here and in the life to come, he shall see what infinit cause he hath to praise God for his portion, that he hath rather beautified and blessed him with his favour and graces then many other, whereby he may walk so comfortably, and that in this vale of miseries, to Gods kingdome.¹¹³

Significantly, Rogers depicted the Christian’s progress as an accumulation, not just of virtue, but also of knowledge, acquired through experience: “In the due consideration of the whole”, Rogers affirmed, “he shall *see*”.¹¹⁴ The same motif was invoked elsewhere. For instance, Rogers insisted that it was important for young converts to “*see* those things worke upon them which are taught here [in the first treatise], both the doctrine of humiliation, and also of justification and deliverance”, in order to grow in assurance; those who struggled, farther on, to extinguish all forms of sin in themselves must “*see* and acknowledge” that the Word of God called them to this

¹¹⁰ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. B3v.

¹¹¹ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. B3v.

¹¹² R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. B3v.

¹¹³ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. B4r.

¹¹⁴ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. B4r; emphasis mine.

task; by continuing in watchful use of spiritual exercises, more mature Christians would be able to “hold, and keepe fast the *certaintie* of Gods favour daily, and constantly”; and as mentioned, those who grew in such an assurance were those who “*understood, approved, consented unto*” God’s sovereign demands on their life.¹¹⁵ It may have been more rational and less mystical, but the Protestant view of spiritual growth, as expressed here, did make room for a kind of illumination, which was expected to increase over time.

Finally, it is noteworthy that Rogers placed his discussion of the saints’ privileges in this life and rewards in the one to come at the end of his manual, in his sixth treatise (the seventh being more of an appendix.) The last chapter in this treatise discussed the believer’s anticipation of glory, “the tenth and last priviledge, injoied perfectly in the life to come, but beginning heere”.¹¹⁶ Rogers did not promise moments of numinous rapture, but there was a union or *communion* with God to be enjoyed in this life, he believed:

And through this knowledge and delight that they [believers] have in the scriptures, which certify them of all these heavenly prerogatives, they get experience in themselves of the things which they learn therein, what is the happiest estate of life that heere can be injoied, even that, which hath the promises of this life and of that which is to come. . . . And what fruite this neare communion with God doth bring, which his faithfull servants have offered them, it may easily be conjectured; because, as *Salomon* saith: *The heart of a friend resteth in his friend; and a friend is nearer than a brother*: and if the perfection of love be joy, there must needs be great joy to God’s faithfull people, when they are so deare to the Lord and he beloved of them so intirely.¹¹⁷

It would appear that Rogers was correct when he indicated that the expansive scope of his *Seven Treatises* was unique. Prior to 1603, no other texts appear to have been published, on the Protestant side, which addressed the unique concerns of the spiritually young, advanced and mature. The work that came nearest in this regard was William Perkins’s Calvinist description of the *ordo salutis*, called *A Golden Chaine, or The Description of Theologie, Containing the Order of the Causes of*

¹¹⁵ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. B3r-v; emphasis mine

¹¹⁶ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 560.

¹¹⁷ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 564.

Salvation and Damnation.¹¹⁸ The English version appeared in 1591, and it is likely Rogers, like many other Protestant clergy, drew inspiration from it. Perkins traced the hand of providence in the redemption and condemnation of human souls. But though it contained a great deal of practical instruction for readers—even a lengthy exposition of the Decalogue, as in Rogers’s work—Perkins’s treatise was more theologically dense and discursive than the *Seven Treatises*. It even contained some polemical sections. Other works, such as Robert Cleaver’s *A Godlie Forme of Householde Government* (1598), Abraham Fleming’s *The Diamond of Devotion, Cut and Squared into Six Severall Points* (1581) and William Hunnis’s *Seven Sobs of a Sorrowfull Soule for Sinne* (1583), were designed to edify readers from multiple stations in life (husband, wife, children), or were divided into multiple sections, each written in a unique genre; but none addressed the life of the faithful in its progressive stages.¹¹⁹

III.B. Spiritual Exercises

Though Rogers may not have realised it, one of his most innovative decisions was to devote an entire section of his *Seven Treatises* to the categorization and discussion of spiritual exercises, “the meanes whereby a godly life is holpen and continued”.¹²⁰ His third treatise began by explaining their utility in the believer’s life:

Now seeing this Christian life is upholden and continued by meanes, and every one which shall set upon it, will be desirous to know them, as he hath good cause, and how to use them aright, because the hinderances and discouragements from the same are many and great; I will therefore . . . shew what I understand by the helps, and meanes: and which they are; also the kindes of them, their nature, and how they ought to be used. . . . For as it was not begun without meanes, so neither can it grow without them.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ William Perkins, *A Golden Chaine, or The Description of Theologie, Containing the Order of the Causes of Salvation and Damnation* (London: 1591).

¹¹⁹ Robert Cleaver, *A Godlie Forme of Householde Government* (London: 1598); Abraham Fleming, *The Diamond of Devotion, Cut and Squared into Six Severall Points* (London: 1581); William Hunnis, *Seven Sobs of a Sorrowfull Soule for Sinne* (London: 1583).

¹²⁰ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 211.

¹²¹ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 211-12.

Rogers classified these means according to two divisions: some were used in public, others in private; and some were ordinary, “such as are commonly and usually to be practiced”, while others were extraordinary, for “some speciall time”.¹²² His discussion of the public helps—“the ministerie of the word”, the sacraments of baptism and the Lord’s Supper, and public prayer—took up about twelve pages. Remarkably, his treatment of private helps was around five times as long. These included “watchfulness”, meditation, “the armour of a Christian” and the saint’s own experiences in life.¹²³ Two others, “companie and family exercises”, were covered in the fourth treatise, and required an additional sixteen pages for explanation. The two extraordinary helps, solemn thanksgiving and fasting, took up only three pages.¹²⁴ If length bears any relation to importance, meditation should be considered a vital discipline in Rogers’s view, as he devoted twenty-four pages to it—more than he gave to any other. He defined meditation as an exercise observed “when we doe of purpose, separate our selves from all other things, and consider as we are able, and thinke of some points of instruction necessarie to leade us forward to the kingdome of heaven, and the better strengthening of us against the divel and this present evil world, and to the wel ordering of our lives”.¹²⁵

An appreciation for spiritual exercises such as prayer and meditation seems to have been growing in puritan circles during the late 1570s and 1580s.¹²⁶ Scholars have typically recognized two figures in connection with this development (in addition to Rogers), namely, Richard Greenham and William Perkins. Bozeman has characterised Perkins as “the greatest literary disseminator” of “puritan pietism”, and Greenham as its “formative mind”.¹²⁷ The popularity of Perkins’s works is indisputable. He wrote many more titles than either Greenham or Rogers, and almost all of them were published repeatedly, well into the seventeenth century. Ten best- or steady sellers bearing his name appeared during the 1590s alone.¹²⁸ Nevertheless, Perkins’s

¹²² R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 212.

¹²³ See R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 211-26 (public helps), and 226-91 (private helps).

¹²⁴ See R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 364-76 (company); 396-99 (family exercises); and 291-93 (extraordinary helps).

¹²⁵ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 235.

¹²⁶ See Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 372-82.

¹²⁷ Bozeman, *Precisianist Strain*, 68.

¹²⁸ William Perkins’s best- and steady sellers, published during the 1590s: *The Foundation of Christian Religion* (London: 1590); *A Golden Chaine, or The Description of Theologie, Containing the Order of the Causes of Salvation and Damnation* (London: 1591); *Perkins upon the Lords Praier* (London: 1592); *A Direction for the Government of the Tongue* (London: 1593); *Two Treatise. I. Of ... Repentance. II. Of the Combat of the Flesh* (London: 1593); *An Exposition of the Symbole or Creed of*

treatment of spiritual exercises was more succinct than that of Rogers. Some of his works contained nothing on them, and none of his writings attempted to list or explain the full array of exercises, as Rogers did in the *Seven Treatises*. For instance, in a work on assurance, *A Graine of Musterd-Seed*, which Rogers himself recommended as a worthy read,¹²⁹ Perkins spoke of exercises only in passing, as means to keep one's heart in an earnest frame: "When any good motion or affection ariseth in the heart, suffer it not to pass away, but feede it by reading, meditating, praying".¹³⁰ One text of special note, as regards devotional exercises, is his *A Declaration of the True Manner of Knowing Christ Crucified* (1596), which advocated meditation on the Passion. This, he claimed, was "a most notable meanes to breed repentance and reformation of life in time to come".¹³¹ Chan has demonstrated the important (if auxiliary) role that meditation played in Perkins's spiritual approach. He advocated its use in several different contexts.¹³²

In terms of print output, Richard Greenham's record was fairly modest. He published only one sermon during his lifetime, and a few other writings appeared immediately after his death in 1594.¹³³ His *Workes*, a collection of sermons, teachings and letters gathered from his loose papers and some of his followers' notes, were first published posthumously, in 1599.¹³⁴ The fifth and last edition appeared in 1612. And yet, Bozeman may have been accurate in calling Greenham "the foremost architect of the first great awakening of Protestant piety".¹³⁵ Greenham proceeded MA from Cambridge in 1567, and became a fellow of Pembroke College the same year. He was soon offered a living in Dry Drayton, a small village located five miles from the university, and began ministering there in 1570. Though he opposed subscription to

the Apostles (London: 1595); *A Salve for a Sicke Man* (London: 1595); *A Declaration of the True Manner of Knowing Christ Crucified* (London: 1596); *A Graine of Musterd-Seed* (London: 1597); *A Reformed Catholike* (London: 1597).

¹²⁹ See R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. B3r.

¹³⁰ Perkins, *The Whole Works . . . in Three Volumes* (London: 1631), 644.

¹³¹ William Perkins, *Declaration of the True Manner of Knowing Christ Crucified*, 20.

¹³² Chan, "Meditative Tradition", 41-49.

¹³³ Richard Greenham, *A Godlie Exhortation, and Fruitfull Admonition to Vertuous Parents and Modest Matrons* (London: 1584); posthumous works: *Two Learned and Godly sermons, Preached by That Reverende and Zelous Man M. Richard Greenham* (London: 1595); *A Most Sweete and Assured Comfort for All Those That Are Afflicted in Conscience [sic], or Troubled in Minde* (London: 1595); *A Fruitful and Godly Sermon, Containing Necessary and Profitable Doctrine* (London: 1595); *Propositions Containing Answers to Certaine Demaunds in Divers Spirituall Matters* (London: 1597); and *Paramythion Two Treatises of the Comforting of an Afflicted Conscience* (London: 1598).

¹³⁴ Richard Greenham, *The Workes of the Reverend and Faithfull Servant of Jesus Christ M. Richard Greenham* (London: 1599).

¹³⁵ Bozeman, *Precisianist Strain*, 69.

Whitgift's articles, Greenham tended to discourage schismatic arguments, and seems to have avoided conflict with church authorities throughout his career. Eric Carlson notes that Greenham was the first to preside over his own household seminary—"a major advance in clerical education much imitated in the next century".¹³⁶ He was almost certainly a forerunner to Richard Rogers in this, and in his ministry to those who came to him for the soothing of their consciences. "For practicall divinity he was inferiour to few or none in his time", wrote Stephen Egerton, who edited the later editions of Greenham's *Workes*. Cleric Hannibal Gamon lauded him as "that excellent Physitian of the Soule".¹³⁷ "Just when the time was ripe for a fresh departure," Bozeman writes, of the puritan shift from political to parochial interests, "Greenham . . . became adviser to 'a kind of school' whose members would disseminate pietist spirituality well beyond the turn of the century".¹³⁸ Rogers mentions visiting Dry Drayton with Ezekiel Culverwell, in his diary.¹³⁹

Greenham focused more directly on the use of spiritual exercises than Perkins, but his treatment was also scattered and partial, in contrast to that of Rogers. In "A Short Forme of Catechizing", he provided information on "Publicke" and "Private exercises". The latter included "the examining of my sinnes and wants, private prayer, reading of the Scriptures, singing of Psalmes, conference with others, and applying all these things to my selfe, with a care to profite others".¹⁴⁰ Perhaps most notably, Greenham wrote up rules for a method of meditation, which he defined as "that exercise of the minde, whereby we calling to remembrance that which we know, doe further debate of it, and applie it to ourselves, that we might have some use of it in our practice".¹⁴¹ Ideally, in meditation the devotee "hath his heart stirred up to put something in practice"—that is, the exercise begins in the mind but eventually rouses the heart and produces godly behaviour.¹⁴²

There were several similarities between the meditative techniques espoused by Rogers in the *Seven Treatises* and those cited by Greenham, earlier on. Rogers not

¹³⁶ Eric J. Carlson, "Greenham, Richard (early 1540s–1594)", in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11424>> (16 June 2005).

¹³⁷ Egerton, preface to Greenham, *Workes* (London: 1605), 723; Hannibal Gamon, *The Praise of a Godly Woman* (London: 1627), 31; both cited in Carlson, "Greenham, Richard (early 1540s–1594)", in *ODNB*.

¹³⁸ Bozeman, *Precisianist Strain*, 68.

¹³⁹ Knappen, ed., *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, 59.

¹⁴⁰ Greenham, *Workes*, 75.

¹⁴¹ Greenham, *Workes*, 22.

¹⁴² Greenham, *Workes*, 22; for a discussion of Greenham's contribution to the puritan spiritual tradition, see Chan, "Puritan Meditative Tradition", 37–41.

only listed rules for the practice, but also provided over ten pages full of material for meditation: proverbial sayings about the Christian's experience, and some "necessarie observations for a Christian, fit also to meditate upon", such as, "8. That we give not the least bridle to wandring lusts and affections".¹⁴³ Both he and Greenham insisted that Scripture was the chief source from which to draw objects for meditation, both advocated finding a suitable time and place for it, and both echoed the message of the Catholic texts, that the exercise was fruitless unless it resulted in a change of heart, and a movement in the affections.¹⁴⁴ It is thus very plausible that Rogers drew some inspiration from the older and much-admired Greenham, pertinent to spiritual exercises in general, and to meditation, more specifically. But how did Greenham acquire his wisdom in matters of devotion? A deeper analysis of his teaching and a comparison with older sources would be helpful in this regard, but his most recent biographers have not explored this area in any depth.¹⁴⁵ Bozeman has suggested that Greenham drew from the Catholic tradition, citing a long list of parallels between his work and that of his Catholic forebears, including

an emphasis on meditation, interest in the Passion as a prime object of meditation, a preoccupation with technique (as in the formulation for 'Rules for meditation'), the image of the saint as a 'pilgrim' . . . journeying toward heaven through the transient and wicked world, the lifelong 'spirituall battaile' against flesh, world, and devil, the attainment of detailed self-knowledge through regular and searching introspection, the use of the Decalogue as a basis of self-inspection, the analysis of sins according to 'circumstances,' the ceaseless 'watch' over dangerous motions of the soul, a 'labour for the contrary vertue' in the fight against sinful tendencies, the practice of 'judging' oneself so that 'God will acquite us from the fearfull iudgement to come,' the distinction between an inferior repentance based upon the fear of punishment ('attrition') and repentance based upon a true love of God and hatred of sin ('contrition'), a preoccupation with 'afflictions,' a pervasive emphasis on penitential sorrow—and, in Greenham's aspiration to methodize pastoral counseling and in his own self-image as 'Spiritual Phisition,' a remarkable adaptation to a Protestant constituency of the venerable science of "spiritual direction" under the guidance of a clerical spiritual director.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 256.

¹⁴⁴ See pp. 64-65.

¹⁴⁵ See Kenneth L. Parker and Eric Josef Carlson, *'Practical Divinity': The Works and Life of Revd Richard Greenham*, St Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998). Parker and Carlson do discuss the humanistic and Continental Protestant influence on Greenham's method of writing and ministry in their fourth chapter, "The Greenham sayings in their literary and historical context"; see also John H. Primus, *Richard Greenham: The Portrait of an Elizabethan Pastor* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1998).

¹⁴⁶ Bozeman, *Precisianist Strain*, 78-79.

“To what extent Greenham knew and used the works of Parsons and like figures cannot be determined,” Bozeman concludes, “but his devotional program shared much more with theirs than students of Puritanism unfamiliar with Catholic backgrounds might expect”.¹⁴⁷

If elements of Greenham’s devotional method were inspired by the Catholic ascetic tradition, as Bozeman implies, then the main thrust of the thesis advanced here is strengthened. More work will have to be done, however, before this connection can be firmly established. In any case, it is apparent that Rogers was the first Protestant to lay out the full repertoire of devotional exercises or “meanes” in a systematic way, and that meditation was given a preeminent role among the exercises he discussed, as it had been with the medieval Catholic religious, whose teachings were summarised and simplified by Loyola, Granada, Loarte and others. Chan has noted that Rogers’s “pioneering effort in introducing a systematized approach to devotion also brought the practice of meditation into a much more distinct focus in the puritan religious experience”.¹⁴⁸ He has also identified “a remarkable similarity in the way catholic and protestant devotional practices progressed”, observing that “the history of the catholic devotional tradition was one of progression from non-methodical prayer-meditations to methodical meditations; and a similar development could also be seen on the protestant side, albeit in a much more contracted time-span of about fifty years”.¹⁴⁹

While it is clear from Rogers’s diary that he engaged personally with the spiritual exercises he discussed in his *Seven Treatises*,¹⁵⁰ it seems reasonable to believe he also drew from the stimulus of the Catholic ascetic works, with which he was familiar. These texts were themselves products of centuries of ascetic “systematization”, as Pourrat has demonstrated.¹⁵¹ Considering that his methodical treatment of spiritual exercises was more similar to that typical of the Catholic ascetic treatises than to any Protestant text, it seems probable that he found in these Catholic guides a model to emulate, by which he could suitably formalise and propagate devotional habits that were already becoming common within the puritan communities.

¹⁴⁷ Bozeman, *Precisianist Strain*, 80.

¹⁴⁸ Chan, “Puritan Meditative Tradition”, 59.

¹⁴⁹ Chan, “Puritan Meditative Tradition”, 7.

¹⁵⁰ See above, pp. 154-55.

¹⁵¹ See pp. 24-31.

III.C. A Plan of Action

Rogers's diary attests to his own desire to bring order and structure to daily life. Frustrated by the spiritual setbacks he encountered whenever travel, unexpected visits or even bad weather transpired, he sought greater spiritual stability through the use of a set schedule of devotional exercises, and saw fruit from the endeavour:

Feb. 7, 1589/90. In few woordes, I yet continue the course entred into 20 dayes agone, with great likeing of it and my manner of passing the time, which is an hour in reading, medit[ation] to prepare me for priv[ate] prayer, study is with sensibl wil[lingness] followed till our meeting at prayer and catech[izing] or reading before din[ner]. After, also without sleapynes, lingering after any fantas[y], worl[dliness], or wandering and unprof[itable] walking.¹⁵²

"The Puritan, as well as the Catholic", writes Knappen, "found an established routine of spiritual exercises necessary if he were to retain the proper attitude and so rightly conduct his life".¹⁵³ With his fourth treatise, "directing the beleever into a daily practice of the Christian life", Rogers challenged readers to live under an ordered course of spiritual exercises, assuring them of the advantages of such discipline. "By the faithfull observing of our lives through the day, and taking heede thereto by the helpe of such rules, as God laieth out unto us in his word", he wrote, "we shall see our selves carried through the divers and manifold actions of the day, safely and peaceably".¹⁵⁴

By including this "daily direction", Rogers brought his manual into even greater conformity to the Catholic ascetic treatises that had preceded it. He anticipated that some would find this feature redolent of monastic regimes, in fact, and rebutted their complaints: "Whereas they say, that it is to set up and bring in monkerie again, to betake mens selves to any better course of living, than is commonly practiced, I answer: That I cannot easilie say, whether the monks in their hypocrisie, superstition and false worship of God, were greater sinners than these objectors in their profaneness and Atheism".¹⁵⁵ Not only was Rogers's fourth treatise scattered with

¹⁵² R. Rogers, in Knappen, ed., *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, 96.

¹⁵³ Knappen, ed., *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, 8.

¹⁵⁴ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 296-97.

¹⁵⁵ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 575; Morgan mentioned Rogers's defence against this charge of "monkerie", claiming that it was basically futile, "for he could see that the way of godliness which

remarks like these, defending the necessity and value of a “daily direction”, but his last treatise was devoted to the same purpose. Rogers underscored the fact that his method was drawn directly from Scripture, unlike the routines espoused by Catholics and other heretics:

For though the sect of the Family of love, the Church of *Rome*, and sundrie other lying spirits do fancie a course which the Scripture knoweth not, and some of them also fantastically have for every day in the weeke, devised an order to be followed, as the reading of certaine taskes, nothing lesse then proper to direct their lives: yet in this, which I here propound, namely, that we should by daily directed in our whole course, I have followed no fancie and dreame of man; but have in all good conscience spoken from God, and drawne it from the Scripture both for the learned and simple, high and low, one and other, and is never in vaine to the right use of it.¹⁵⁶

Rogers affirmed the validity of his regime with passages like 1 Peter 1:17, which informs Christians that they “should passe the whole time of [their] dwelling here in feare”, and 1 Corinthians 10:31 (“Whether ye eate or drinke or whatsoever ye doe else, doe all to the glorie of God”).¹⁵⁷

Showing some sensitivity to the constraints of lay life, Rogers divided the responsibilities of his daily direction into two categories, with one consisting of eight “necessarie parts” to be executed every day, and another with nine “outward duties of life, most commonly to be done daily, but not of necessitie”.¹⁵⁸ The obligatory activities in the first list were designed to keep the believer in a state of heightened and watchful devotion:

Every day we should be humbled for our sins, as through due examination of our lives by the lawe of God we shall see them. . . . Every day we strongly, and resolutely arme our selves against all evill and sinne, fearing most of all to offend God. . . . Every day our thanks be continued for benefites received, and still certainly hoped for. . . . Every day *we watch and pray* for stedfastnesse and constancie in all these.¹⁵⁹

he and the [puritan] Brotherhood preached had the same aim as the monks of old, namely a spiritual discipline whose object was union with Christ in a godly life”; *Godly Preachers*, 118.

¹⁵⁶ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 343.

¹⁵⁷ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 298, 301.

¹⁵⁸ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 316-33 (necessary parts); 333-404 (outward duties).

¹⁵⁹ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 316.

All these obligations were to be observed daily, Rogers insisted, and “may not be omitted any day at all without sinne”.¹⁶⁰ Following an extended discussion of these eight necessary tasks, he proceeded to list those in the second category, which would “be of great use among Gods servants” if heeded, but were not strictly required.¹⁶¹ This section most closely resembled the schedules laid out by Gaspar Loarte and other Catholic ascetics. Rogers listed the duties to be performed in sequential order, beginning with “The first, that we awake with God”:

That is to say, that as soone as we have broken off our sleepe every morning, we bend and resolve with our selves to give unto the Lord the first fruites of the day: and that either directly, by thanksgiving, confession of our sinnes, and request making for our selves and Gods people, we lift up our hearts to God in a briefe manner: or indirectly, that is, though we tye not our selves to this manner and forme, yet that we make it our first worke after our awaking, to common with, and to looke up to God, drawing our hearts to the love and rejoycing in him; that he being first in account with us, may be also throughout the day chiefe with us, and present to guide, blesse and comfort us: and that we do this, till in a more solemne maner we see our selves apart from other things to prayer.¹⁶²

Morning prayer was recommended, and then, “with our minds still kept well ordered, [we] betake our selves to our calling and vocation”. God was to be honoured in one’s labour. Rogers offered advice for conducting oneself while with others, “in company”, or alone, and in times of both prosperity and affliction. Finally, after a short discussion of family religious exercises, he recommended that readers end by “viewing the day”, taking account of their performance.¹⁶³ If grace had been found to keep a righteous course throughout the day, thanks were to be offered; if not, sorrow and repentance were appropriate, and the reader was urged to “be the more carefull to sin no more in that manner”.¹⁶⁴ Like the Catholic ascetics, Rogers stressed the importance of morning and evening devotional exercises.

Rogers’s own “daily direction” was not only more thorough than any schedule of duties like it to be found in the writings of other Protestants from the Elizabethan period; it was also more detailed than any of the Catholic ascetic treatises

¹⁶⁰ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 316.

¹⁶¹ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 332.

¹⁶² R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 333; this duty is discussed at further length, 346-48.

¹⁶³ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 333-36.

¹⁶⁴ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 399.

themselves. Still, his *Seven Treatises* did not include a rota of meditative exercises centred on the Passion or other theological subjects, as many of them did. During the last two decades of the sixteenth century, a handful of prayer anthologies were published which resembled those that had appeared during the first half of the Elizabethan period, containing prayers for specific times in the day (especially morning and evening), and for various occasions and circumstances. But William Perkins's cursory advice in *A Graine of Musterd-Seed* was probably more similar to the material in Rogers's work than anything else one might find in the Protestant literature of the period:

When thou first openest thine eyes in a morning, pray to God, and give him thanks heartily: God then shall have his honour, and thy heart shall bee the better for it the whole day following. . . . And whê thou liest downe, let that bee the last also; for thou knowest not whether fallen asleepe, thou shalt ever rise againe alive. Good therefore it is, that thou shouldest give up thy selfe into the hands of God, whilst thou art waking.¹⁶⁵

Bozeman has confirmed the significance of the schedule that Rogers provided for his Protestant readers. "It was not until the end of Elizabeth's reign, and specifically in reaction to the expanding popularity of Catholic spiritual literature," he writes, "that the pietist brotherhood laid out a carefully Protestantized 'daily direction'. . . . Adumbrated in the work of Greenham and Perkins, the ideal was set forth fully in the fourth of Rogers's *Seven Treatises*.¹⁶⁶ Though his programme was more exacting, and drawn more deliberately from Scripture, it seems probable that Rogers's "daily direction" owes a great deal to the form presented in the work of his Catholic ascetic contemporaries.

III.D. A Select Audience

From the outset, Rogers made it clear his *Seven Treatises* had been written for those who either possessed or aspired to a robust faith—"these who have set themselves in a full, and resolute purpose to passe their daies godly in the midst of many encombrances, and *to walke with the Lorde*, so far as of fraile flesh may be

¹⁶⁵ Perkins, *The Whole Works*, 643.

¹⁶⁶ Bozeman, *Precisianist Strain*, 97-98.

obtained".¹⁶⁷ That he placed a high premium on the authenticity of a believer's confession was made apparent by his extended description of a bona fide Christian, situated at the beginning of his tome.

What were the traits of the elect, in Rogers's estimation? They had, first of all, experienced a genuine conversion to God, attended with sorrow over the misery of their unconverted state, confession of sins, fear of God's displeasure for sin and a desire to make some sort of amendment of life. After beginning with God, they persevered in faith, and though weakness might occasionally slow their progress, they pursued an ever fuller assurance of salvation.¹⁶⁸ Empowered by faith, their conduct soon began to demonstrate its workings. They came to walk with a pure heart, "renued and changed from that it was before". In consequence, they came to renounce and forsake "all sinne, both inward and outward", and were consumed with "a full purpose of the heart, and a true indeavour of life, to obey God in all things, even unto the end".¹⁶⁹ Rogers knew that some would protest, believing this standard was unrealistically high, and too rigorous to maintain. But this was not how God's true saints perceived the life of godliness, according to Rogers:

Indeed I graunt, that this is not pleasure unto all: neither is that to be proved of me; but that it is a pleasure to those which love the Lord, & no toile to be conversant with him in one part of their life or other all the day long; and that with delight it may be aimed at, as at a marke, that they may please God in the things which they goe about, even throughout the day, and may have an eie to their actions which they doe, that they may not offend him: This unto the upright in heart is such a pleasure, as without it there is none to them.¹⁷⁰

While it is true that Rogers's *Seven Treatises* was aimed at a readership who were more fervent in religion than most, and his manual shared this trait with the Catholic ascetic writings discussed above, it is fairly certain that his choice of audience was not inspired by any Catholic text. Rather, this shared feature of their works probably corresponds to a view of religion shared by Protestants of his kind—the "hotter sort", to use Patrick Collinson's description—and exponents of the

¹⁶⁷ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. A5v.

¹⁶⁸ This order is laid out in Rogers's first treatise, "shewing who be the true children of God"; *Seven Treatises*, 1-71.

¹⁶⁹ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 73; these points are elaborated in "The Second Treatise, shewing at large what the life of the life of the true beleever us, and the conversation of such, as have assured hope of salvation", 72-211.

¹⁷⁰ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, 578-79.

Catholic ascetic tradition, out of which these other texts developed.¹⁷¹ Within the normal distribution in any religious tradition, one may expect to find a margin of adherents characterised by peculiar fervour or “heat”. Roman Catholics who fit this profile had the option of joining one of the religious orders, or of immersing themselves in the stream of devotionism that came to the fore at the end of the medieval period. Protestantism brought a degree of spiritual democratization to the church, but the Reformation could not change human nature itself. In post-Reformation England, the spectrum of hot and cold religious adherence remained, and those whose ardour the majority considered extreme found means other than cloistered separation to express their keen spiritual impulse, as Morgan has noted:

When the Church settled down in the days of Elizabeth whole reaches of her life had been obliterated, and on all sides were to be seen the decaying signs of her rape in derelict monasteries and abbeys. . . . The variety of the pre-Reformation Church had gone, and gone not only in colour and pageantry, but also in the opportunity to cultivate evangelical preaching and personal sanctity in brotherhoods of like-minded men.¹⁷²

The intent here is not to posit a perfect correspondence between the puritan ministers of the English church and the Catholic religious of prior days, as Morgan did. It is, rather, to underscore the important commonalities in the two groups’ spiritual character and habits. A religious earnestness, manifested in the attempt to bring virtually all areas of life under the direction of divine imperative, was one area of similarity.

This likeness has been observed by a number of scholars—especially with reference to the Jesuit Order. Victor Houlston has noted “affinities between the Jesuits and the Puritans”, for instance, “in their call to come out from among their co-religionists and be separate, to depend rather on the faculties of mind as informed by the word of God or by self-reflection than on church custom”.¹⁷³ In similar fashion, Michael Questier has drawn attention to the Jesuit missionaries’ interest in evangelical, as opposed to merely formal, conversion:

¹⁷¹ Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 27; Collinson quotes from a sixteenth-century pamphlet: Percival Wiburn’s *A Checke or Reproofe of M. Howlet’s Untimely Schreeching* (London: 1581), fol. 15v.

¹⁷² Morgan, *Godly Preachers*, 2.

¹⁷³ Houlston, “Edmund Bunny’s Theft”, 172.

There is hardly a source concerned with the Society which does not manifestly illustrate that ‘conversion’ in England had at least as much to do with their own evangelical ethos as with the mechanical process of catechising the ignorant into the paths of the extremely artificial contemporary polemical formulations of the Roman faith. . . . Though change of religion in the sense of abandoning the Church of England might be an important part of conversion, the essence of that conversion was not contained in a movement between one ecclesiastical institution and another. It was principally a matter of progress in grace.¹⁷⁴

And Bozeman highlights the similarity between puritan and early modern Catholic emphases on conversion, noting that “in pietist as in Reformed and Counter Reformation thought conversion meant a disciplinary transfiguration of the self”.¹⁷⁵

Nor was Richard Rogers the first Protestant to target a select market of readers. “Progress in grace”, which was especially important to Jesuits, was also considered a hallmark of the true saint by certain Protestant writers, who catalogued signs like it. The year 1588 saw the publication of Perkins’s *A Treatise Tending Unto a Declaration Whether a Man Be in the Estate of Damnation or in the Estate of Grace*. Two years later, a translation of Jean Taffin’s *Of the Markes of the Children of God and of Their Comforts in Afflictions* appeared. “Those who have faith are assured”, Taffin insisted, “that though the graces of the holy ghost are oftê weak in thê . . . yet it câ never come to nought or die: rather they recover strength at the last, whereby they are certaine to be, and to continue the children of GOD, and heires of everlasting life”.¹⁷⁶

The earnest puritan contingent within the English Church began to acknowledge itself as a distinct subset of the populace in the literature of the early 1580s. George Gifford, an associate of Richard Rogers mentioned above,¹⁷⁷ published a title in 1581 that purported to mark the divide between true and false Christianity in plain terms: *A Brieve Discourse of Certaine Points of the Religion, Which is among the Commô Sort of Christians, Which May Bee Termed the Countrie Divinitie*. Using a popular dialogue format, Gifford lamented the generic, semi-Pelagian views he believed were common in the nation, the subtext of his work being that the negligence of official church leaders was largely to blame. The following exchange between

¹⁷⁴ Questier, “‘Like Locusts over All the World’”, 273.

¹⁷⁵ Bozeman, *Precisianist Strain*, 93.

¹⁷⁶ Jean Taffin, *Of the Markes of the Children of God and of Their Comforts in Afflictions*, trans. Anne Prowse (London: 1590), sig. G6r-v.

¹⁷⁷ See p. 162.

“Atheos”, a personification of the bemoaned “countrie divinitie”, and the orthodox “Zelotes”, typifies the thrust of the work:

Ath[eos]. I thinke God accepteth the prayer of the honest poore man as well as of any other, and will heare him as soone, as hee will heare the prayer of those which knowe most, and are best learned.

Zelot[es]. God is no acceptor of persons, hee heareth the poore as welll as the riche, the unlearned as well as the learned, so that their prayers bee made aright. But if yee speake of those honest men which are so called, & yet are voide of all knowledge of Gods woorde, and of religion, it is an easie matter for to proove that their prayers are not good.¹⁷⁸

Gifford’s text emphasised the importance of an authentic spiritual experience, over against mere nominal affiliation with the national church.

Like Gifford, Bartimaeus Andrewes was a puritan minister from East Anglia. In 1583 a short series of his sermons on the Song of Songs was published, which provides an intriguing glimpse into the self-image and religious activities of the godly communities around the middle of the Elizabethan period. Andrewes repeatedly spoke of “exercises” and “meanes” in his sermons, though technical descriptions of spiritual exercises like those Rogers included in his *Seven Treatises* were lacking. “But let them [that] truly love Christ, be ever inquiring after him,” Andrewes urged, “côforting one another, conferring, meditating, praying, stirring up one another, so that by these meanes, as the Spouse [Christ] doth here with the Godlye, wee may growe in knowledge and obedience”.¹⁷⁹ “So one neighbour should say to another,” he also preached, “I pray you neighbor let us goe together to such a sermô or such a godly exercise, & *I wil go with you*”.¹⁸⁰ It was also here that Andrewes famously acknowledged those “scorning raylers” who attacked his earnest friends for their love of preaching, saying, “now this holy man will goe to heaven in a hay barne, now these *Puritans* flocke together”.¹⁸¹ In similar fashion, the “silver-tongued” preacher, Henry Smith, lamented the plight of the godly layman, chided by his critics for separating

¹⁷⁸ George Gifford, *A Briefe Discourse of Certaine Points of the Religion, Which Is among the Commô Sort of Christians, Which May Bee Termed the Countrie Divinitie* (London: 1581), sig. I7r.

¹⁷⁹ Bartimaeus Andrewes, *Certaine Verie Worthie, Godly and Profitable Sermons, upon the Fifth Chapter of the Songs of Solomon* (London: 1583), 141.

¹⁸⁰ Andrewes, *Sermons*, 186.

¹⁸¹ Andrewes, *Sermons*, 185.

from them: “No, he must not denie the company of the wicked, for then he shall be accounted a Precisian, a Puritane, and I know not what”.¹⁸²

The small party in Rogers’s Wethersfield congregation who covenanted together in 1588 embodied the sentiments of many throughout England, who separated, socially if not formally, from the lukewarm wider church, meeting together in public and in private. They rehearsed sermons, sang psalms and prayed together, eager to transcend the dry formality and languid religion of the typical parishioner. In this way they constituted a church within the Church—*ecclesiola in Ecclesia*.¹⁸³ Peter Lake remarks on the solidarity of such groups, which many found nearly intolerable. “The core of the moderate puritan position”, Lake says, “lay neither in the puritan critique of the liturgy and polity of the church nor in a formal doctrinal consensus, [but] in the capacity, which the godly claimed, of being able to recognize one another in the midst of a corrupt and unregenerate world”.¹⁸⁴ Both Catholic ascetic and puritan texts, like the ones mentioned here, appealed to readers who believed a sincere and devoted life was worth the rigour and vigilance it demanded.

Conclusion

Given the circumstances in which Rogers created his pioneering devotional manual, the way in which he and his colleagues framed and introduced his work to its readers, and the actual form it assumed, it seems very likely that he intentionally followed the pattern laid out in the Catholic ascetic treatises discussed in this project—in particular, *The Exercise of a Christian Life* by Gaspar Loarte, and Robert Persons’s *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise, Appertayning to Resolution*, which he named.

Rogers commenced work on the *Seven Treatises* at a time when puritan clergy were feeling heightened stress. In addition to the anxiety produced by population growth, changing economic conditions and the failure of large-scale church reforms,

¹⁸² Henry Smith, *The Sermons of Maister Henrie Smith, Gathered into One Volume* (London: 1593), 917.

¹⁸³ Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 374–75.

¹⁸⁴ Peter Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge University Press, 1982), 282; cited in Michael Jenkins, “Perkins, William (1558–1602)”, in *ODNB* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21973>> (16 June 2005).

these ministers were confronted with the widespread circulation and partially-favourable reception of Catholic devotional books. Even as the movements of continental Catholic power grew more suspect, Protestants like Thomas Rogers and Edmund Bunny had promoted Catholic ascetic guides, with considerable success. It is obvious, from the commentary of Richard Rogers and his work's editors, that Persons's remarks about the paucity of Protestant devotional teaching had struck a nerve, and begged for a response. It would appear that the *Seven Treatises* was conceived within this context as a means to provide the sort of spiritual instruction for pious Protestant laypeople that they might have otherwise sought in the writings of the Catholic ascetics.

The content of the *Seven Treatises* would seem to confirm that this was the objective Rogers pursued. He acknowledged that the life of believers was not a static condition, but a long progression, as the lay manuals of his Catholic foes had. Perhaps most significantly, Rogers's *Seven Treatises* included a lengthy section on spiritual exercises, and a plan for making their observation habitual within the confines of a non-clerical life. And Rogers addressed his work to a select audience of readers, to whom election and spiritual integrity were considered paramount. This suggests that there was parity between the spiritual orientation and "temperature" of Rogers's puritan readers, and that of the highly devoted laymen and -women who enjoyed the guides of the Catholic ascetics.

Through examination of the best- and steady-selling religious texts published during the four decades of the queen's reign, it has been possible to identify characteristics that distinguished the Catholic works described in chapter 3 from other types of religious print read in England during the period. And, most significantly, it has been possible to demonstrate both how novel Rogers's *Seven Treatises* was among other Protestant writings, and how similar it was to the Catholic ascetic treatises of Loarte, Persons and others. Considering the findings of these analyses, it is possible to assert, with some confidence, that Rogers did not consciously replicate any genre of Protestant literature already established, but rather that he followed the general pattern of these Catholic writings. This is not to ignore the differences between his manual and theirs. Rogers took great pains to justify nearly every doctrine discussed in the *Seven Treatises* with a scriptural precedent. Catholic writers cited biblical passages to validate their teachings as well, but their engagement with

Scripture was much less thorough. In fact, the considerable difference in length between most of the Catholic ascetic texts and Rogers's manual probably reflects the many protracted expositions of relevant biblical passages he provided. In addition to Scripture, Rogers drew valuable lessons from his own experience as a parish minister. His extant diary reveals that he experimented with the spiritual methods he recommended to others on a personal level. All three of these sources—the Catholic ascetic manuals, Scripture and Rogers's own experience—were acknowledged in the preface to the *Seven Treatises*, where he stated that his purpose had been “to frame out of the word of God by that little help of my knowledge and experience, such a direction for Christians . . . as shall give them [Catholics] small advantage of boasting”.¹⁸⁵

On the basis of the evidence presented here, it appears likely that Rogers drew inspiration from the literary-pedagogic model he found in the Catholic ascetic treatises, and consciously fashioned his own work after this model, in order to formalise and systematise ascetic elements that were already becoming intrinsic to puritan religion in his day, and to promote these forms of public and private devotion. On this account, it might be said that the pietistic interests of the Elizabethan puritan communities were already moving them on a trajectory towards a spiritual orientation much like that of ascetically-inclined Catholics (both religious and lay); but that this gradual migration was accelerated by events related to the inter-confessional conflicts of the Elizabethan period, and the reading, writing and publishing of religious print during the same period. Without necessarily implying that Rogers's teaching contradicted foundational Protestant tenets, one can assert that his *Seven Treatises* represents a change in the approach of Protestants which did not grow “naturally” from the seeds of early Protestant thought, as some have suggested.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵ R. Rogers, *Seven Treatises*, sig. B1v.

¹⁸⁶ See pp. 162-63.

CONCLUSION

If Rogers's *Seven Treatises* had been the only puritan handbook of its kind published, the circumstances surrounding its creation would have made it an intriguing object of study, in its own right. But Richard Rogers is only one writer, and the *Seven Treatises* is only one pietist text among many that appeared during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While the evidence gathered here suggests that the Catholic ascetic tradition played a key role in the formation of the puritans' spirituality, there are still several areas of the history which might be explored, in order to gain a clearer view of the nature of the influence of this older tradition. Two of the most obvious are mentioned here.

Moving forward chronologically, one might examine the puritan writers whose compositions were published after the *Seven Treatises*, and attempt to gauge the role that Rogers played in steering the later course of puritan devotional literature. It is not difficult to find texts printed in later years which contain ascetic features similar to those in his work. Lewis Bayly's *The Practice of Pietie* (2nd edn., 1612), John Downname's *Guide to Godlynesse* (1622), Richard Sibbes's *The Spiritual Mans Aim* (1638) and Richard Baxter's *Christian Directory* (1673) were all large, compendious volumes designed to educate believers in spiritual exercises and guide them through their entire earthly course.¹ Simon Chan has described in some detail how spiritual exercises themselves, and specifically meditation, became a preeminent focus to puritan authors after Rogers's systematic treatment was published, as reflected in a proliferation of manuals such as Robert Bolton's *Meditations of the Life to Come* (1628), Nicholas Byfield's *Directions for the Private Reading of the Scriptures* (1648), Isaac Ambrose's *Prima, Media, Ultima* (1654) and John Ball's *A Treatise of Divine Meditation* (1660).² "Daily directions" of the kind Rogers had outlined reappeared in works like Richard Bernard's *A Weekes Worke, and a Worke*

¹ Lewis Bayly, *The Practice of Pietie* (London: 1612); John Downname, *A Guide to Godlynesse* (London: 1622); Richard Sibbes, *The Spiritual Mans Aim* (1638); Richard Baxter, *A Christian Directory or A Summ of Practical Theologie, the Cases of Conscience* (London: 1673).

² Chan, "Puritan Meditative Tradition", 53-143; Robert Bolton, *Meditations of the Life to Come* (London: 1628); Nicholas Byfield, *Directions for the Private Reading of the Scriptures* (London: 1648); Isaac Ambrose, *Prima, Media, Ultima* (London: 1654); John Ball, *A Treatise of Divine Meditation* (London: 1660).

for *Every Weeke* (1614) and Richard Scudder's *Christians Daily Walke* (1629).³ These literary echoes may indicate the pervasive influence of the *Seven Treatises* on later authors. To the extent that they do, the link between Rogers and the Catholic ascetic treatises is rendered more significant. Equally, these similarities may also attest to the influence of old and new Catholic ascetic treatises, which continued to be disseminated and read in England.

In addition, one might investigate the work of other early puritan pietists, and especially Richard Greenham and William Perkins, focusing on the sources which inspired their writings. As mentioned in chapter 6, there are intriguing parallels between the teaching of Greenham and some Catholic sources, but these commonalities have not yet been examined in detail.⁴ Similarly, Perkins's extended description of a method for meditating on the Passion is fairly remarkable, considering that this devotional practice was such a commonplace among Catholic religious (and many other Catholics), and so rarely addressed in Protestant religious writings of the period.⁵ Some scholars are quick to cite continental Reformed theologians like Theodore Beza and Petrus Ramus as sources for his teaching,⁶ but it is certainly possible that his preoccupation with practical theology owes something to the example of the Catholic ascetic texts.

The findings of this study indicate that the introduction of Catholic ascetic literature into Elizabethan England helped significantly to produce the so-called "pietist turn" in English puritanism, after which ascetic forms of devotional practice came to be promoted frequently in puritan sermons and published tracts, and observed by puritans themselves. In Rogers's case, more specifically, it would appear that these Catholic texts served as catalysts to, and models for, the departure from traditional forms of Protestant devotional teaching which his *Seven Treatises* represents. The fact that these works were received so well had alarmed Rogers and his colleagues, and Persons's remarks had further stirred in them a desire to devise a means for curbing their influence. The strategy Rogers chose was to best these Catholic ascetic writers, if possible, at their own game. Like Edmund Bunny, he turned their own literary skills

³ Richard Bernard, *A Weekes Worke, and a Worke for Every Weeke* (London: 1614); Richard Scudder, *The Christians Daily Walke in Holy Securitie and Peace* (London: 1629).

⁴ See p. 179; and see Bozeman, *Precisianist Strain*, 74-83.

⁵ Perkins, *A Declaration of the True Manner of Knowing Christ Crucified* (London: 1596); see p. 177.

⁶ See, e.g., Raymond A. Blacketer, "William Perkins (1558-1602)", in *The Pietist Theologians*, 40-41.

against them.⁷ Even though his approach required more work than that of Bunny and the other bowdlerisers, it enabled Rogers to adopt the features of the Catholic ascetic treatises, which had already proven popular, without having to acknowledge their source. To a puritan, this would have been an important point.

If the thesis advanced here is valid, it implies that the shape assumed by any given devotional tradition may be contingent upon historical particularities, to a greater degree than is sometimes understood. One is tempted to assume that all of the religious habits of a specific group (one's own, for instance) flow naturally and directly from Scripture, or from the careful, deliberate cogitations of the tradition's theologians and spokespeople, who advocate these habits; not realising that its current form may also be a product of events such as the crowning of a Protestant queen, the alienating of her Catholic subjects and the transfer of literary contraband. In such cases, the study of history can serve as a spiritual exercise itself, bringing knowledge, and with it, humility.

⁷ See pp. 126-28

APPENDICES I-III.

PRELIMINARY MATERIAL, THE SEVEN TREATISES (1603 ED.)

I. Stephen Egerton, "To The Christian Reader", sig. A3r

The children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light.¹ *The truth hereof may appeare in the Papists; who discerning that their bookes of Controversies, stuffed with manifold untruths, fallacians, and corruptions, were not able to gaine sufficiently (though small gaine be too great for such merchants) to their Babylonish kingdome,² have set themselves and others on worke (being all set on worke of Hell)³ to penne certaine treatises, tending to insnare and intangle the minds of ignorant and simple Christians, in the corrupt and filthie puddle of Popish devotion. In this respect I perswade my selfe, it is come to passe (not without the gracious providence of God) that the author hereof hath been encouraged in himselfe, and by others, to write these Christian directions, as a counterpoyson to all such inchauntments of Papists, who would by these meanes beare men in hand, that al true devotion dwelt amongst them, and were inclosed and tyed to their Cels and Cloysters: In which uncleane cages it is impossible for any true spirituall and holy meditations to have their abiding: for as much as even the very mindes and consciences of such uncleane birds, are defiled with damnable errors, and Idolatries.⁴ Wherefore I would earnestly advise, and heartely intreate thee (Christian Reader) to imbrace this booke, wherein thou shalt finde good precepts, and holy directions, not delivered by rote (as from a Parrat) out of the bookes and writings of other men: but confirmed by the singular experience of one, who hath long laboured the conversion, and confirmation of many other; but especially the mortification and quickning of his owne soule and conscience: one, whom indeed I have ever esteemed another Greenham: and herein more happie then he; because he hath lived to penne, and peruse his owne labours, and may yet live (by the mercie of God) to correct and amend whatsoever slip of his penne (for in a long worke one may happily take a nap, two, or three) shall be shewed unto him. Reade it therefore (beloved Christian) and that with diligence: and thou shalt finde (I doubt not) more true light and direction to a true devout and holy life, then in all the Resolutions of the Jesuiticall Father Parsons (though never so refined, as a brick newly washed) or meditations of Frier Granatensis, or any Popish Directories whatsoever. And so I commend thee and all thy holy labours in this and all other good bookes, especially in the booke of bookes (I meane the holy Bible) to the rich and mercifull blessing of God our Father in Jesus Christ.*

Blackfriers London this 26.of May 1603.

Thine in the Lord,

STEPH. EGERTON.

¹ Margin: "Luk.16.8."

² Margin: "Revel.18.15."

³ Margin: "Jam.3.6."

⁴ Margin: "Tit.1.15."

II. Ezekiel Culverwell, "To The Christian Reader", sig. A3v-4r

What be the priviledges and high favours of God Almightye, wherewith he hath preferred this age, and in speciall our nation above all before us, since the daies of the holie Apostles, needeth more meditation to move our selves to thankfulnes, the proof to cōvince our adversaries, who though they should gainsay it, shall gnash their teeth and pine away in grieve to behold it. Among all (I may say with the Prophet and the Apostle) this is chiefe, that God hath so cleerely *shewed his word to Jacob, his statutes and his judgements to Israel; and hath committed to us his holy oracles.* Wherein I meane not only that we have the Gospell so publicly and plentifully preached, which (though great) is common to us with many: but withall, that in some admirable manner, God hath revealed his secrets unto us, such as wee know no Church upon the earth, in which the true sense of the Scriptures and sound doctrine thereof, are more sincerely embraced and professed. Yea with what store of rare and excellent lights the Lord hath furnished this our Church, he is blind that seeth not, and malicious that wil not acknowledge it: wherein though generally it falleth out by humane frailtie and Sathans subtiltie, that there is more light of judgement, then integritie of conscience; yet herein God hath not left himselfe without witnes of many worthie Christians both Preachers and professors of the truth, who lively expresse the forme of holie doctrine into which they are cast, such as upon my uttermost peril I dare professe, the devoutest Papist neither hath nor possiblie (in that profession) can attaine unto, lacking true faith the right mother and nurse of a godly life. And herein to give one instance in steed of many, take and examine streightly this one work, and if it breathe not out more sound godlines in one leafe, then all their artificiall composed treatises of Resolution (which in their estimation are chiefe in this argument of a godly life) let me beare my deserved blame. I leave the life of the writer of that Popish booke to such as seeme upon better knowledge to have set out the same. And for the Author of this Treatise, I may not in modestie say what I knowe, but could and doe desire that his life were so knowne to all, to whom his writing shall come, as it is to such, who have heard the doctrine and seene the practice hereof in himself these well neere thirtie yeeres. But to spare the person for his life time, and to foretell what you shall finde in his labours. In my simple opinion it might in one principall respect be called the Anatomie of the soule, wherein not onely the great and principall parts are laid open, but every veine and little nerve are so discovered, that wee may as it were, with the eye behold, as the right constitution of the whole and every part of a true Christian; so the manifold defects and imperfections thereof. Whereto be added most approved remedies for the curing of all spirituall diseases, with the preservatives to maintaine our health, in such sort as may be enjoyed in this contagious ayre, and so in a second respect may be called the physicke of the soule. In both which how welcome it shall be to all that love their soules health, I neede not doubt: onely I would desire the Christian patient, not to be offended with the largenes of the work (as too deare for the poore, and too much to be read over in long time) but consider with me, that if the arte of bodily physicke be so long, as the father of that arte testifieth; then it is no marveile, that this spirituall physicke doth as much exceed the other in length, as it doth in dignitie. And yet for the reliefe of such as desire to profit by his labour, great care hath been taken so to set out apart every severall matter, that by the helpe of the Table they may be so directed to the particulars, which I perswade my selfe will be so farre from glutting any, though never so weake stomacke, that it will rather procure him a better appetite. For simply to say, as I feele, I have not read in any mans writing a more savourie stile and

better relished. All which I leave to every one to speake as they finde, and so with my strongest desires doe commend the fruite of these labours to the blessing of God.

Ezechiel Culverwel.

III. Richard Rogers, excerpt from "The Entrance into the Booke, or Preface to the Reader", sig. A5r-B2r

To these (I say) who have set themselves in a full,⁵ and resolute purpose to passe their daies godly in the midst of many encombrances, and *to walke with the Lord*, so far as of fraile flesh may be obtained (how weake so ever in their owne persuasions) to these (I say) I desire in this treatise of mine to be some help and assistance, and to speak plainely, that such as would faine doe well, and yet cannot tell how, may hereby be eased and relieved. And if any (who as yet are in superstition, hypocrisie, profanenes, or as yet in darknes) desire to be partakers thereof also,⁶ and so to like of that advice and instruction, which is written for the beleevvers, that they be willing to depart from the wicked, crooked, and cursed way, which they have walked in: I should be so farre from envying them this blessing, that (although this was not set out directly for them) yet they may understand, that with such a willing mind, as I have undertaken this worke for their good who *are in Christ* alreadie; with the like, I am readie to further and help forward them, who thinke and know themselves as yet to be *strangers from Christ* altogether; and to rejoyce, if I might understand, that they have been moved hereby with their brethren, to become the true disciples of Christ.⁷ Indeede I have not laboured so much, to perswade these to returne from their miserie, and to become penitent, because many both examples and the like, and reasons to move them, are plentifully, plainely, and in good order, extant among them alreadie; and for that I know, that for the most part, they profit not by our writing, who doe not before regarde and take good by our preaching: and yet they shall have my best advice in the end.

But as for such as have alreadie been in the truth of their hearts converted unto the Lord, and unfainedly been called backe *from the former lusts of their ignorance*, and the fashion of the world, after the which sometime they framed themselves: for such (I say) I know it is the earnest desire of their hearts, that they may as well have a path-way to godlines, and a direction to the same lie by them, to the which they may alwayes at neede resorte, when publike helps by sermons cannot evermore be enjoyed: as also to be made more fit thereby, to profit by them, when they doe repair unto the same. And although I looke not for it, that such account should be made of this booke among the greatest number, who have resolved with themselves either not to learn or embrace any thing more, thê alreadie they have, especially proceeding from a meaner person then themselves: or to scorne whatsoever agreeth not with their humor, and to cavill and quarrell with that, which natural reason doth not allow; yet (wishing better things unto such) I am not discouraged, but for their sake who would desire the same in practice, which here they shall finde by reading, I will goe forward in this enterprise.

I know it can doe the best no harme.⁸ I am sure (trusting and looking for the blessing of God) that it shall do many good, such I meane as would doe well, if they knew how; and would grow wiser, sounder and more constant in faith and a godly life, if they had helpe and direction thereto plainely set before them. And I am not ashamed to say, that for mine own furtherance as well as other mens,⁹ and the better

⁵ Margin: "The second point. The reasons of setting out this. The first."

⁶ Margin: "The authors desire that they might profit by it."

⁷ Margin: "This worke especially tendeth to better the good."

⁸ Margin: "It is of use to all sorts of good Christians, and that was one reason of letting it out."

⁹ Margin: "The second reason of setting it forth."

carriage of my selfe through this my pilgrimage; I have been willing to gather some such things together, as in this small volume I have contrived. Neither had it come into the hands of others,¹⁰ unlesse such as are of account above my selfe for their gifts, as well as my neighbours, among whom I have preached the doctrine, had perswaded me to set it forth.¹¹ Besides all that hath been said, I have chiefly in this enterprise (as God doth know) sought this, that this unperfect & weake labour of mine may stir up and move some of my godly brethren (who for the habilitie and grace which God hath given them, if their leasure had been as much as mine, might tenne-fold more profitably and substantially have undertaken it) to enlarge and perfect the same, the argument being so needfull and profitable, to the further benefit of God's Church and people.¹² Another reason of setting out this treatise was this, that they who desire it, may see, by the diligent marking of the same, the beauties of the Christian life more clearely, then by many Christians lives it can bee seene, and that it may be brought into greater account with many, who thinke it (through error) overburdensome.

And partly also I was moved hereunto by this reason,¹³ that the Papists cast in our teeth, that we have nothing set out for the certaine and daily direction of a Christian, when yet they have published (they say) many treatises of that argument. For answer to the first poynt of this objection, they cannot deny (but that they care not what they say, to bring the people out of love with our religion) they cannot (I say) deny, that both in catechisms, sermons, and other treatises, there is set forth by us that which may cleerely direct Christians, and stir up godly devotion in them, though all be not gathered together into one volume: for the second part concerning their treatises, I graunt there are two which I have seene, set forth by them in our English tongue, the one called a Christian Directorie, the other the Exercise of a Christian life, wherein the author doth, though both superstitiously and nothing properly, goe about to teach and give direction for every day in the week; (the one bearing the name of *Robert Parsons* the King of Spaines confessor: the other by an *Italian a Jesuite Doctor in Divinitie*,¹⁴ and translated into English by some favourite of Poperie) the first is nothing lesse then a direction for a Christian though it be called a Directorie, tending rather to perswade men to resolve with themselves to leave some grosse evils, then to shew them soundly how to attaine pardon, or teaching how to live christianly: the other is a ridiculous tying men to a daily taske of reading some part of the storie of Christs passion, and saying certaine prayers throughout the week every day a task; but indeede nothing less then directing, after the will of God, him who desires to leade a Christian life. Both of them I dare boldly affirme, being deceived themselves doe deceive others, especially the simple, who is not able to discern and trie the lying spirit in them. The one, that is to say, *Parsons*, hath under a pretense of a holines and devotion, set down sundrie impediments to resolution: But yet they are put in among other things to take away the harshnes and tartnes of manifold errorrs of merit, and other superstition mixed with them and upholden in that religion, and as it were, with sugar to season them, which else no taste could abide, and in the depth of a subtill heart, put in, to make the world beleeve, that the *Popish religion* is the onely holy religion, and the professors thereof the godliest livers; when yet Antichrist is their captaine, and head, or (as they will not deny) the Pope of Rome, who yet doth, and for

¹⁰ Margin: "The third."

¹¹ Margin: "The fourth."

¹² Margin: "The fifth."

¹³ Margin: "The sixth."

¹⁴ Margin: "Jasper Loarte."

these many years hath upholden and maintained open, and almost infinit heresies and abominations.

And as their religion and worship is composed and framed of heresies and lies, and a confused heape of superstitions, and outward dead workes, even Jewish and Heathenish ceremonies; so the persons themselves who professe they know most, and that they are able to give rules unto others, upholding and building upon so rotten foundations, are furthest off from well guiding others, so that no man may ever looke by any Popish direction to live christianly. Although I will not dissemble what I thinke, namely, that some doe meane more simply and truely then the rest, and thinke that they serve God aright having devout minds, but being ignorant of the truth, must needes be deceived.

But of Maister *Parsons* booke of resolution, seeing he and some other have set it out in a glosing stile to insinuate with the ignorant and unlearned reader, that he seekes no other thing, but to draw him to pietie and godlines, I cannot forbear, but I must say a little, which otherwise I would not have done. And the rather, for that I know, he hath snared many simple peoples consciences thereby, who being themselves willing to be led in a right way, believe that he meanes as he speaketh; and therefore are left, I say, deceived, and in a bottomless gulfe; out of the which, if God helpe them not some other way, it is not possible for them to get. And this I say first, for the delivering of such out of the snare and maze in which they have lost themselves by reading of that booke, that although there be a pretended shew of godlines in it, and much superstition; yet the best of it is farre from true pietie and godlines, seeing that, and every part of it proceedeth from faith joyned with assurance of God's favour,¹⁵ which is that alone that purifieth the heart, and maketh it able to bring fourth fruits of amendment of life; without which, mens best actions are wrought by the strength of corrupt nature, and are fruites of the flesh, and workes of darknes, and so abominable. And yet this faith doe Papists make no reckoning of, neither therefore can the booke of Resolution teach or hold it.

Further, I say that the Law onely is urged in that booke, without teaching the poore soul that may be terrified thereby, how to lay hold on the promise of eternall life, and without the Gospell; the truth and glad tidings whereof, is onely able to set at liberty the consciences of such as are strangled by the threats and terrible curse of the law: for if that truth make free (as our Saviour saith) then are men free in deede.¹⁶ And whereas it may be objected to me, that I doe the author of the booke open wrong in saying, that he joins not the Gospell with the law; for he that readeth it, may finde, that he speaketh of Jesus Christ, that he was given by his father to the world, that many might be saved; and of the promise: and how say I then that he teacheth the law without the Gospell? I answer, that he doth indeede mention both the promises of the Gospel, and also Christ; and this he doth in that chapter which is intituled [diffidence in Gods mercie] but yet is that true that I say: For the Gospell is the power of salvation to him that beleeveth:¹⁷ and it is not the Gospell if it be not believed: for that is a part of the description of it: Now beleeving or faith hath assurance going with it, as I shewed out of the epistle to the Hebrues: Which the Author of that booke with the rest of his religion, doth flatly deny; and therefore it is cleere, that he doth not teach the Gospell, neither in that book doth plainely and soundly guide the wandring soule which seeth it selfe lost, to find remission of his sinne, and everlasting life; and

¹⁵ Margin: "Heb.10.22.; Act.15.9."

¹⁶ Margin: "Esay.61.1; Ezech.34.4.; Joh.8.32."

¹⁷ Margin: "Rom.1.16."

consequently, that he doth not direct his reader to live godly, as I said, but holdeth him in darknes and in the state of damnation, and deceiveth him.

And what reckoning he maketh of faith (which the word of God preferreth before all other things, and faith, that it overcommeth all difficulties in the world) we may see by his owne words,¹⁸ in his preface fol.6. I exhort the discreet reader (saith he) of whatsoever religion and faith he be, to enter into the carefull studie and exercise of good deedes, assuring him, that this is the right way, to obtaine at Gods hands the light of true beliefe. And a little after he saith, It is more easie to beleieve as we ought, then to live, as we should. Here we see, he preferres good deedes before faith: as if the fruite should be said to be more precious, then the tree that beares it. And yet as not marking what he said, he uttereth these words a little before, which cannot stand with the other: Our fathers received one uniforme faith from their mother the holy Catholike Church, and did attend only to builde upon that foundation good workes and vertuous life, as holy Scripture commaundeth us to doe. Here he affirmeth, that good life commeth from faith. Thus while he speaketh such contraries, sometime, that good workes must be built on the foundation of faith; and with another breath, that good life is the right way to bring faith, (and yet all may see he speaketh of one and the selfe same faith in both places) must he not needes by so teaching, deceive the simple reader while he not being able to understand what is taught, cannot possibly practice that which he ought?

And it was not to be doubted (to speake even in charitie as in conscience we ought) that the said author promising in that his booke of Resolution, that he would adde two other parts to it, (as thereby confessing, that it alone was an insufficient worke of it selfe, to be set forth; and therefore dangerous to intangle and snare the ignorant) and yet cannot in eightene yeares finde a time to fulfill his promise; it was not to be doubted (I say) but that he was well content to deceive and trouble many that should reade it: As if one should but preach the wrath of God for sinne to an hundreth persons, (whereas his booke hath been in the hands of thousands) and should come no more in eightene years, to helpe them out of feare and doubt, and how to live afterwards, it would be condemned and that justly, and cryed out of by all advised people. And yet we may conclude, without any doubt, knowing his religion what it is, (if ever he had any such meaning, to set out two other parts) that they should have been as sound as this one is, that is to say, unwholesome, full of damnable errors, and uncomfortable: For can men gather grapes of thornes, or figges of thistles? No more can any sound fruite be reaped or comfort gotten by false and unsavorie doctrine. But for *Parsons* devotion, (whereof his booke bears so great a shew) or how little of the labour was his, or how little honestie is in the man, yea rather how great iniquitie: let them of his owne religion testifie, I meane the secular priests in their bookes against the Jesuites.

But to say no more of *Parsons*: The other hath little in him worthie any account of reckoning, and to this purpose very nothing. To goe forward therefore, seeing this was one cause why I tooke this worke in hand, because the Jesuites cast in our teeth the want of such bookes, as may direct a Christian aright through his whole course towards the kingdome of heaven, and yet that which they teach tending thereto, is but as poyson in a golden cuppe; although, as I have said, there are many of my brethren, who had been fitter for this service than my selfe, if they had not been employed some other way: yet I nothing doubt by the helpe of God, to frame out of the word of God by that little helpe of my knowledge and experience, such a direction

¹⁸ Margin: "1 Joh.5.4."

for Christians, (all ostentation, and comparison of learning set aside) as shall give them small advantage of boasting, and shall be both more pleasing to God, and more for the comforting the heart of him, who listeth to be directed by it, than poperie can afford: and withall, a direction, that hath not only been shaped after the rules of the Scripture, but also such as hath been and is practized and followed so farre forth, as of sinfull flesh may be looked for, both of minister and people, and approved of those who have excelled, & gone before many, in both.

And although I denie not, but that many things might have been farre better set downe, and expressed, then I am able to doe; yet that none thinke me to have taken in hand a matter above my reach, and wherein I have no skill, thus much I say, that for these twentie years and more I have aymed at this, in my reading, preaching, and living, and in the observing of my selfe, and the example of others, what communion and near acquaintance there may be betwixt God and a Christian, what hold may be laid on the promises of God, what strength may be gotten against sinne, what freedome and libertie we may have by faith, what settlednes and constancie in a godlie life, what comfort, and rejoycing the children of God by his free graunt, may have, even in this life, and that both sound and constant, which shall not be taken from them: also how farre the spirit may overcome the flesh, and how the divell may be resisted. And more especially for these seaven yeares and more, I have more particularly set my selfe about the matter, which in this booke is contained, (which how weakely soever it be performed, I have therein a good conscience:) First, to shew, both how a man may become a true beleever, be brought into the favour of God, and afterwards how he may be directed to leade his life daily: And therefore I have not suddenly nor unadvisedly set upô this. And what helpe I have been able to get from others, as my convenient opportunitie hath given leave, I have not neglected: The which I set downe (as I said) that none may thinke me fantastically to have gone about to broch some noveltie, but rather to offer that to the people of God, which hath with good advise been gathered for their edifying. But now to returne,¹⁹ the last reason moving me to take this worke in hand, is, that they who have injoyed my ministerie these twentie yeares, might have me (as many of them have oft desired) after a sort putting them in remembrance of that which I have taught them in my life time, many yeares after I shall be taken from among them. This shall suffice to be spoken of my intent and purpose in this treatise, with the reasons thereof.

¹⁹ Margin: "*The seventh reason.*"

APPENDIX 4. TEXTS EXCLUDED FROM GREEN'S SAMPLE OF "BEST-
AND STEADY SELLERS" WHICH WERE PERUSED FOR THIS STUDY

St Augustine. *The Glasse of Vaine-Glorie . . . with Sundry Christian Praiers
Added Thereunto*. London: 1600.

_____. *Godly Meditations Made in the Forme of Prayers by S. Augustine*.
London: [1570].

_____. *An Introduction to the Love of God. Accompted among the Workes of
S. Augustine, and Set Forth in His Name*. London: 1574.

_____. *A Little Pamphlet of Saint Augustine entituled the Ladder of Paradise*.
London: [1580].

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Translated by I. S. London: 1582.

Calvin, John. *The Psalmes of David and Others. With M. John Calvins
Commentaries*. Translated by Arthur Golding. London: 1571.

_____. *Sermons of Maister John Calvin, upon the Booke of Job*. Translated by
Arthur Golding. London: 1574.

Erasmus, Desiderius. *Enchiridion Militis Christiani, Which May Be Called in English,
the Hansome Weapon of a Christian Knight*. London: 1576.

Foxe, John. *Actes and Monuments of These Latter and Perillous Dayes Touching
Matters of the Church*. London: 1563.

Musculus, Wolfgang. *Common Places of Christian Religion*. Translated by John Man.
London: 1563.

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[T]he Viniard of Devotion. *Comprehending Sundry Godly Praiers, Psalmes and
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_____. *The Pomander of Prayer*. London: 1558.

_____. *The Sycke Mans Salve*. London: 1560.

Bernard, Richard. *A Weekes Worke, and a Worke for Every Weeke*. London: 1614.

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Bolton, Robert. *Meditations of the Life to Come*. London: 1628.

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Bunny, Edmund. *A Brieffe Answer, unto Those Idle and Frivolous Quarrels of R.P.* London: 1589.

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